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ABSTRACT

This publication is a collection of the 80 papers presented at the 1970 meetings of the Association in Dallas, Texas. The major concerns of the group are indicated by the topic headings of the many sessions: 1) the sociology of work; 2) the sociology of student life: conformity and alienation; 3) sociological theory; 4) the sociology of the family; 5) deviant behavior; 6) Mexican American's cultural and personal identity; 7) graduate student research papers; 8) socialization and personality; 9) Mexican American's achievement, motivation, and assimilation; 10) the sociology of health; 11) community research; 12) cross national perspectives; 13) training sociologists; 14) sociology in secondary schools; 15) Latin American politics and brain drain; 16) sociology of cities and towns; 17) undergraduate social welfare education; 18) political sociology; and, 19) social psychology. In all, there are approximately 50 research reports, 11 reviews of research, 13 reviews of the literature, and about 6 position papers on these various topics. (SBE)

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SOUTHWESTERN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XX, 1970

The officers of the Association for 1969-1970 were: Leonard Benson, President; Harry Martin, First Vice President; Jerry Michel, Second Vice President; Sarah Frances Anders, Secretary-Treasurer; W. G. Steglich, ASA Representative; Charles Bonjean, Editor, Social Science Quarterly; Harold Osborn and Robert Cushing, Associate Editors; Henry Bullock, Hillquit Lynch, Everett Dyer, Reba Bucklew, S. Dale McLemore, J. Rex Enoch, and Charles Tolbert, Executive Council Members.

Section chairmen for the 1970 meetings in Dallas, Texas, were: Elinor Johansen, "Sociology of Work"; O. Z. White, "Sociology of Student Life: Conformity and Alienation"; Joseph Lopreato, "Sociological Theory"; Ronald C. Engle, "Sociology of the Family"; Laurence J. Redlinger, "Deviant Behavior"; Betty Maynard, "Mexican-Americans I: Cultural and Personal Identity"; Rex Enoch, "Graduate Student Research Papers"; H. R. Dick, "Socialization and Personality"; Julius Rivera, "Mexican-Americans II: Achievement, Motivation, and Assimilation"; Howard B. Kaplan, "Sociology of Health"; Terry N. Clark, "Community Research; Cross-National Perspectives"; Harold M. Clements, "Training Sociologists"; Charles M. Tolbert, "Sociology in Secondary Schools"; V. A. Naegele, "Latin America; Politics and Brain Drain"; Blaine T. Williams, "Sociological Potpourri--I"; John M. Ellis, "Sociology of Cities and Towns"; Marshall A. Mason, Jr., Undergraduate Social Welfare Education: Why's and Wherefore's"; Charles A. Hunter, "Sociological Potpourri--II"; James D. Preston, "Political Sociology." The address at the Plenary Session was given by William Gamson from the University of Michigan.

The Editor wishes to acknowledge the assistance given by student workers in the office of the Division of Sociology, Henderson State College; Janie Zullo, Sherry Marshall, Gloria Powers, Bobby Tullis, and Bennie Clark each contributed to the various phases of the preparation of the Proceedings for publication and mailing.

Appreciation must also be expressed to Henderson State College for assuming a portion of the cost of the Proceedings. Very grateful appreciation is expressed to Stephen B. Williams, Vice-president for Public Affairs, Henderson State College, and his staff, for undertaking the task of reproducing and assembling the publication.

Hillquit Lynch, Editor

Henderson State College
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

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SELF-FULFILLING WORK AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Marie Marschall Fuller and Charles M. Bonjean
Texas Woman's University
The University of Texas at Austin

The role of work as a basic source of meaning and self-fulfillment for the individual remains one of the chief unresolved problems of modern, urban, industrial society. Work has always been emphasized in America, and today American culture strongly emphasizes personal achievement, particularly occupational achievement. Everett C. Hughes found in work the basis of an individual's outlook on the rest of life, with the career providing a perspective in which a man views his life and interprets the meaning of events.[1] Some see one of the distinguishing features of contemporary urban societies the conscious expectation that work, rather than other sources, should provide meaning to other areas of life. The personal and social disorganization characterizing industrial and mass society may spring from the impossibility in an industrial society for work to provide meaning to many.[2] With the increasing division of labor and fragmentation of tasks, some occupations have little chance of offering meaning. The significance of work varies with the rewards accompanying performance at various occupational levels, with the meaning of work changing from an economic necessity to a goal in itself as the occupational scale rises. Most research indicates that the particular values attached to work vary by occupations with upper levels emphasizing interesting work, self-expression, and intrinsic qualities of the job itself. Lower ranking workers tend to focus on security and economic benefits.

Durkheim early suggested the division of labor as a prime cohesive force for society, and he envisioned occupational organizations as a future potent source for individual support. He also introduced the concept of anomie, which, along with the concept of alienation, has gained increasing attention in social science investigations recently. Industrialization, bureaucratization, urbanization and such elements of mass society are viewed as conditions giving rise to feelings of normlessness, powerlessness, meaningless, social isolation, and self-estrangement. Some believe that the mechanization of today is breaking down old cohesive forces, preventing man from expressing himself in his work, with such indictments culminating "in the accusation that man in the technological age has become alienated from his work, from himself, and from the reality of society and nature."[3] An underlying assumption appears to be that rewarding, creative work gives individuals a stability and purpose missing in the lives of many people today. For example, Blauner discovered little alienation within printing and continuous-process industries in which workers felt master of the machines instead of *vice versa*.[4] Seeman analyzed the literature relating mass society and alienated labor. He identified a theme of the generalization of alienation from the work sphere into other areas of social life. The disengagement at work encouraged loose commitment to the normative order in general. Among his Swedish male labor force respondents, Seeman found "work alienation" was not significantly and consistently related to the postulated outcomes. Scores for powerlessness, prejudice, and political knowledge indicated no correlation with work alienation.[5]

More attention has been devoted to unrewarding work and its social consequences than to the alternative of investigating self-fulfilling work and its consequences, although both are different approaches to answering the same question: What are the correlates or consequences of given work situations and attitudes for the larger arenas of social life? The present study investigates the relationship between work commitment as the independent variable and various alienation-integration measures as the dependent variables.

Hypotheses. Eleven hypotheses predicted greater integration and less alienation for work committed respondents than for those having non-work interests in the three samples. Thus 33 hypotheses suggested respondents with self-fulfilling work would indicate less alienation from work, less generalized alienation, less powerlessness, less normlessness, less social isolation, less anomia, less status concern, less self-estrangement. The work committed were predicted to evidence greater self-actualization, higher self-esteem, and more job satisfaction than other respondents.

Data Collection. Lengthy personal interviews were conducted in a rapidly industrializing town of 11,000 on the Texas Gulf Coast in 1964. The largest segment of the town's labor force worked in either a chemical plant or a non-ferrous metal plant. Three random probability samples included 108 corporate managers, 120 hourly paid workers, and 104 independent businessmen.[6] All salaried employees were considered management, and all were "white-collar" except line foremen. Management included department heads, professionals, and several levels of clerks and foremen. Line and staff members from both plants were in this sample. Workers sample included hourly paid employees from the two plants. Typical positions included power attendants, operators, machinists, and mechanics. Characteristics which defined respondents as entrepreneur were self-employment, at least half of one's income in the form of profits or fees, and working in an organization having but two or fewer levels of supervision.

Work Commitment. Respondents who indicated work as their primary interest in life were designated as "work committed" or having self-fulfilling work. Included in this category were those giving a work-related response to the question: "What is your central life interest? In other words, what aspect of your life gives you the greatest satisfactions as well as, perhaps, your greatest sorrows?"[7] Response distribution for the samples indicated the work committed categories included 27 per cent of the businessmen, 19 per cent of the managers, and 13 per cent of the workers. The percentages decline along a continuum as the amount of control over the work processes decreases. Such small percentages of men with self-fulfilling work are typical of other research findings.[8] Respondents with life focus outside of work, e.g. family, friends, church, etc., were contrasted with work committed men.

Alienation-integration Measures. Nominal definitions of the concepts are given below. (See authors' original studies for operational definitions.[9]) Generalized alienation was a summary measure of the total scores from the subscales of powerlessness, normlessness, and isolation. Powerlessness measures the expectancy that an individual cannot effectively control his own destiny or the outcomes he seeks. Normlessness suggests a separation from group standards or a conflict of norms, with socially unapproved behavior seen as necessary for an individual's goals. Social isolation indicates a feeling of isolation from group standards or the individual's perception of losing contact with significant supporting groups. Alienation from work suggests little interest, pride, self-respect, and extrensic evaluation of work. Anomia measures the individual's attachment to society. Status concern estimates the respondent's evaluations of status symbols and achieving higher status; this may result from mobile individuals having to prove themselves in a series of new situations. Self-estrangement measures an individual's feelings that he is forced through social situations to behave in a manner doing violence to his own nature. Self-actualization is the degree to which an individual's predispositions are expressed in his work. Self-esteem rates an individual's feelings of importance to himself. Job satisfaction was indicated by a respondent's estimate of how satisfying his job was.

Findings. Varying levels of interest in work produced few statistically significant differences in scoring on integration-alienation measures. Both the independent variable and the dependent variables were dichotomized. Fisher's Exact Test was adopted to measure the significance of association. Respondents with self-fulfilling work differed at a statistically significant level in the predicted direction on only one of the 33 hypotheses examined, with less self-estrangement among work committed businessmen. In the workers sample, strong negative relationships appeared between work commitment and both normlessness and anomia. If direction had not been predicted and a two-tailed test had been used, the normlessness relationship would have been significant at the .0085 level and the anomia relationship at the .0239 level. Considering direction, self-fulfilling work was negatively associated with integration as measured by the various integration-alienation scores in 21 of 33 relationships analyzed. The probability of obtaining this proportion of negative relationships by chance is .0512; thus the number of negative relationships closely approached the commonly accepted level of significance. (See Table 1 at the end of this paper.) Among the managers, five relationships in the predicted direction involved work commitment and alienation from work, social isolation, self-actualization, self-esteem, and job satisfaction; the other six relationships were reversed. Among workers, the only two relationships in the predicted direction concerned phenomena closely bound to work--self-actualization and job satisfaction. Nine of the general measures were related in the direction opposite to that predicted. Among the businessmen, five relationships were in the predicted direction, and six were reversed. Observed relationships in the predicted direction were self-estrangement (statistically significant), powerlessness, social isolation, self-actualization, and job satisfaction.

An analysis of the percentage distribution on the various integration-alienation measures shows a variety of patterns. Respondents in all samples scored similarly on some items but presented contrasting configurations on other measures. A brief summary of each measure will clarify the existing configurations.

Alienation from work: Low alienation from work typified all the samples. Work commitment did not significantly alter the relationships. Powerlessness: High powerlessness characterized more than half of all the respondent categories except those managers having non-work interests, though the difference was not statistically significant. Normlessness: All relationships were in the opposite direction from what predicted, with more normlessness among men having self-fulfilling work. Had a two-tailed test been used, this relationship for the workers would have been statistically significant. This is contrary to what the literature predicts, and one possible speculation is that a focus on work could be a consequence rather than an antecedent to lack of integration in broader social contexts. Social isolation: Each sample presented a different configuration on this measure. Businessmen had 50 per cent in each category, regardless of interest. Among the managers, more than half indicated low social isolation; men with non-work interests had 12 per cent more than others in the high social isolation category. Among workers, 70 per cent of the men with self-fulfilling work were characterized by high social isolation, but less than half of workers with prime interests outside the job indicated high isolation. Anomia: Almost three-fourths of all respondents scored low on anomia; the exception was the workers sample where men with self-fulfilling work had 50 per cent in each category. In all the samples, the work committed evidenced slightly more anomia than others did. Among workers, the difference would have been statistically significant with a two-tailed test. Status concern: In all three samples, men with self-fulfilling work were characterized by greater concern about status than were other men, though the largest difference was about 17 per cent among the workers. The general configuration indicated that more than half of the workers sample and businessmen sample showed high concern about status whereas only 40 per cent of the managers did. Self-estrangement: The only statistically significant difference in the predicted direction appeared among the businessmen. Here there was less self-estrangement among the work committed. More than half the managers indicated low self-estrangement, whereas more than half the workers evidenced high self-estrangement. Self-actualization: Greater self-actualization among men with self-fulfilling work was evident in all the samples, but the differences were small. High self-actualization characterized more than two-thirds of the managers and more than half of the businessmen. Workers were divided almost evenly between the levels of self-actualization. Self-esteem: Among the managers, men with self-fulfilling work evidenced high self-esteem, but among the other samples the direction was reversed. Job satisfaction: Some 84 per cent of all respondents were satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs; however, men with self-fulfilling work had 91 per cent at that level of satisfaction.

Interpretation. Though men with self-fulfilling work were characterized by less integration than other respondents in 21 of 33 tests, additional information may provide a clearer picture of their general response patterns. Among respondents with self-fulfilling work, managers evidenced high integration in 10 of 11 measures. Workers with self-fulfilling work displayed low integration on six measures, high integration on two, and were divided evenly on three measures. Work committed businessmen occupied an intermediate position with high integration on five measures, low integration on five measures, and were divided evenly on one measure.

Few of the hypothesized relationships between self-fulfilling work and social integration are supported by the data. As noted above, in 21 of 33 tests, work committed men evidenced somewhat less social integration than men whose primary areas of interests were outside the job. The generalization model assuming work effects generalize into other areas of social life is not supported. The data suggest that the relationship between work and social integration is more complicated than frequently assumed. It will be necessary to further specify the conditions for hypothesizing a relationship between work and social integration.

TABLE 1

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE: WORK COMMITMENT AND
ALIENATION-INTEGRATION VARIABLES

	Managers	Workers	Businessmen
Alienation from work	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Generalized alienation	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Powerlessness	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Normlessness	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Social Isolation	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Anomia	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Status Concern	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Self-Estrangement	n.s.	n.s.	.0468
Self-Actualization	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Self-Esteem	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Job Satisfaction	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

n.s.—not statistically significant. Relationships not in predicted direction are underlined.

FOOTNOTES

1. Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958) p. 63.

2. Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form, Man, Work, and Society (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962) p. 11.

3. Fritz Pappenheim, The Alienation of Modern Man (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959) p. 43.

4. Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964).

5. Melvin Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review 32 (April 1967) pp. 273-285.

6. For details on sampling and the larger study of which this is a part, see Charles M. Bonjean, "Mass, Class, and the Industrial Community: A Comparative Analysis of Managers, Businessmen, and Workers," American Journal of Sociology 72 (September 1966) pp. 149-162.

7. Robert Dubin, The World of Work (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958) p. 255, suggests such characterization.

8. For a detailed discussion, see Marie Marschall Fuller and Charles M. Bonjean, "Work as Central Life Interest Among Managers, Workers, and Independent Businessmen," Proceedings of Southwestern Sociological Association (April 1969) pp. 220-225.

9. Charles M. Bonjean, loc. cit.; Marie Marschall Fuller, "Work and Integration in Society: The Effect of Work Commitment and Integration in Work on Social Integration and Alienation," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Sociology, The University of Texas at Austin, 1968).

PERCEIVED UPWARD MOBILITY OF RELOCATED WORKERS*

David C. Ruesink and Michael C. Kleibrink
Texas A&M University

Maintaining a balance between the supply and demand of manpower within any industrial society is a major consideration of any society. This concern in the United States has led to several attempts to shift manpower to meet industry's demand for labor. One such attempt has been undertaken by Vought Aeronautics Division of Ling Temco Vought (LTV) along with several government agencies.

Approximately 750 men from the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas were given special instruction in aircraft assembly at one of three training centers in South Texas. Beginning in September, 1967, the men were trained in groups of 15 with a new group being started each week until the allotted number of men had been trained. During the fifth week of training those who satisfactorily completed their "Valley training" were moved about 500 miles to the Dallas area where they started a 60-day on-the-job training program as aircraft assemblers. As of January, 1970, 61% of the relocated workers were still employed at LTV.

Of those that are no longer employed with LTV, some have obtained employment in the Dallas area, others have moved to new areas either as migrant workers or as permanent residents, and several have returned to South Texas. There appears to be little economic reason for those who return to their previous home to do so. One reason for returning to the supply area may be that some people in our society are not interested in maximizing economic efficiency.[1] Another possible reason for this apparently disadvantageous behavior is, "the social behavior of a person is shaped by the view of the world he has from his particular vantage point."[2] This suggests that relocated workers may not view their new situation to be advantageous at all.

If success of training-relocation programs depends on workers staying in a new area, they must be satisfied enough with the new community to make it their permanent home. Therefore, how the relocated worker views his status in the demand area especially with respect to his status in the supply area is a key factor to his adjustment. The purpose of this paper is to consider perceived mobility of relocated Mexican Americans during the period of adjustment in the new area or after they have terminated and returned to the supply area.

Methods and Procedures

A sample of 29 workers (stayers) were interviewed at 1, 12, and 18 months after they had relocated. A second sample of 8 workers (terminals) were interviewed at 1 month but terminated before the 18 month interviews were taken. A third sample of 37 individuals (returnees) were interviewed after they had terminated and returned to the supply area.

*A paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, March, 1970. The research included in this paper was supported by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Cooperative State Research Service Project G-1716.

All three samples were presented a modified Kilpatrick Scale[3] which consisted of a card with a 10-rung ladder on it. The respondents were told that number 10 on the scale represented the very best kind of life that they could imagine and number 1 represented the very worst kind of life they could have. Each individual was then asked to look up and down the ladder and select the point where he thought he would be on that ladder at the present time. After the respondent had replied, he was asked where he would have placed himself on the ladder before he entered the relocation program. In the case of terminals the second response represented where he would have placed himself on the ladder while he was in the Dallas area. Thus, a rating from 1 to 10 for perceived status in the Dallas area and perceived status in the Valley was made by each respondent.

A Wilcoxon signed rank test[4] was used to compare differences in status of the stayer groups and returnees. Because of the small cell sizes, no statistical tests were used on the data when compared to external factors.

Findings

Stayers tended to perceive themselves as being upwardly mobile more often than did returnees (Table 1); however, even though stayers saw themselves to be upwardly mobile more often than did the terminals the difference was not statistically significant. The failure of the difference between stayers and terminals to reach significance may be due to the small sample size of the terminal group, but it may also be non-significant because only half of the terminals returned to the Valley (four returned, one went to Chicago, one stayed in Dallas, and two could not be located).

Table 1. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status for Three Time Periods of Stayers, for Returnees, and for One Month Interviews on Subjects who Later Terminated.

Difference in Perceived Status	Stayers 1 Month N=28	Stayers 12 Month N=29	Stayers 18 Month N=29	Returnees N=38	Terminals N=8
Higher in Dallas	67.9	72.4	69.0	52.6	62.5
No Difference	14.3	27.6	27.6	34.2	37.5
Higher in the Valley	17.9	0	3.4	13.2	0

Analysis of the data given by the interviews at the three time periods of the stayer group reveals that after the first month only one person saw himself as being downwardly mobile with relocation. On the other hand, the hypothesis set forth earlier[5] that the difference between perceived statuses of the two areas involved should increase with time was not upheld by a Wilcoxon T test ($T=141$, $p < .56$).

Comparing perceived status difference to other previously accepted success related factors of education, age, and stage in family cycle,[6] we find that more of the persons with less than nine years of education perceived themselves to be downwardly mobile in the beginning of the program while those who had completed nine to eleven years of school had a more positive orientation toward the Dallas area (Table 2). When age is dichotomized, older individuals perceived more upward mobility at all three interview periods (Table 3). Married men with more than two children showed upward mobility most often (Table 4). The stage in the family cycle with the lowest percentage perceiving upward mobility was the one including those who were married and had one or two children.

The utility of such a scale as the one being used here becomes more evident by analyzing the differences in perceived status of those who have returned to the demand area. Returnees with less than 12 years of education perceived themselves to have a higher status while in Dallas (Table 5). Older individuals tended to be upwardly mobile more often (Table 6). Those with three or more children saw themselves as increasing their status with the move to the new area even though they returned to the home area (Table 7). Thus, the results are similar for both stayer and returnee categories when external factors are analyzed.

Table 2. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status in the Demand and Supply Area for Stayers at 1, 12, and 18 Months after Relocation by Last Grade of School Completed.

	Last Grade of School Completed								
	1-8			9-11			12 or More		
Difference in Perceived Status	1 Month N=5	12 Months N=6	18 Months N=6	1 Month N=10	12 Months N=10	18 Months N=10	1 Month N=13	12 Months N=13	18 Months N=13
Higher in Dallas	20	66.7	66.7	90	60	80	69.2	84.6	61.5
No Difference	40	33.3	33.3	0	40	20	15.4	15.4	30.8
Higher in the Valley	40	0	0	10	0	0	15.4	0	7.7

Table 3. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status in the Demand Area for Stayers at 1, 12, and 18 Months after Relocation by Age.

	25 Years Old or Less			26 Years or More		
Difference in Perceived Status	1 Month N=13	12 Months N=14	18 Months N=13	1 Month N=15	12 Months N=14	18 Months N=15
Higher in Dallas	53.8	64.3	53.8	80.0	85.7	80.0
No Difference	15.4	35.7	38.5	13.3	14.3	20.0
Higher in the Valley	30.8	0	7.7	6.7	0	0

Table 4. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status in the Demand and Supply Area for Stayers at 1, 12, and 18 Months after Relocation by Stage in Family Cycle.

	Stage in Family Cycle								
	Single at Time of Relocation*			Married 1 or 2 Children			Married 3 or More Children		
Difference in Perceived Status	1 Month N=11	12 Months N=11	18 Months N=11	1 Month N=11	12 Months N=12	18 Months N=12	1 Month N=6	12 Months N=6	18 Months N=6
Higher in Dallas	72.7	81.8	63.6	63.6	58.3	66.7	66.7	83.3	83.3
No Difference	9.1	18.2	27.3	27.3	41.7	33.3	0	16.7	16.7
Higher in the Valley	18.2	0	9.1	9.1	0	0	33.3	0	0

*7 of the 11 married after relocation.

Table 5. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status of the Demand and Supply Area for Returnees by Educational Level.

Difference in Perceived Status	1-8 Years of Education N=13	9-11 Years of Education N=10	12 or More Years of Education N=14
Higher in Dallas	69.2	60	28.6
No Difference	15.4	30	57.1
Higher in the Valley	15.4	10	14.3

Table 6. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status in the Supply and Demand Area for Returnees by Age.

Difference in Perceived Status	21-25 N=19	26 or More N=17
Higher in Dallas	47.4	58.8
No Difference	15.8	11.8
Higher in the Valley	36.8	29.4

Table 7. Percent Distribution of Differences in Perceived Status in the Supply and Demand Area for Returnees by Stage in Family Cycle.

Difference in Perceived Status	Single N=12	Married with Less than 2 Children N=13	Married with More than 2 Children N=11
Higher in Dallas	41.7	30.8	72.7
No Difference	8.3	23.1	9.1
Higher in the Valley	50.0	46.2	18.2

Discussion

The findings generally support our hypothesis that a person who perceived his current situation as being worse than before he entered a training-relocation program will tend to leave the program. The converse, however, does not seem to hold, i.e., a person who perceives himself to be upwardly mobile will tend to relocate successfully.

The data analyzed suggest that properly conducted training-relocation programs can be used for an orderly reallocation of human resources. Such possibilities exist even for persons previously considered to be relatively immobile because of social, geographical and economic ties to a particular location, i.e., older Mexican Americans who have not completed high school and have three or more children.

Those who return to the Valley in spite of feeling that they had raised their status by moving to Dallas present a major analytical problem. The person who perceives himself as better off in his original home will probably be able to fit into the supply community better than the person who believes he is lowering his status.

A major task is to understand why the person returns in spite of perceived upward mobility. Factors that seem to explain this behavior include such things as inability to properly handle finances, shock of living close to Negroes, and incidence of violence. All three of these factors are problems which could be resolved with proper orientation and aid in locating housing.

In addition a number of returnees indicated they desired to stay in the Dallas area but there were family problems which caused them to return to South Texas. Most common problems included a parent in poor health or a wife who did not relocate or did not like the new area after relocating. A few of the early returnees reported an interest in going back to work for LTV as soon as they had worked out a solution to their problem.

Implications

The data and problems presented here are based on rather weak foundations pointing to a need for a more extensive analysis of those who return to the depressed area. The major implication that can be gained from the data presented is that most of the participants including both stayers and returnees in the training-relocation program felt that they were better off after relocation. In addition, increased retention could be gained by counseling lower educated subjects more intensely, especially with regard to financial matters and cooperation with other minorities. This then leads these authors to believe that such programs can benefit our society. What is left unanswered, however, is whether societal benefits would be greater by relocating people or providing new employment opportunities where the people are located.

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1. See David C. Ruesink and Michael C. Kleibrink, "Social and Material Orientations of Workers in a Manpower Relocation Program," a paper presented at the Southern Agricultural Workers Association, Memphis, Tennessee, February, 1970.

2. David Kretch, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual In Society (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962) p. 17.

3. F. P. Kilpatrick and Hadley Cantril, "Self-Anchoring Scaling: A Measure of Individuals' Unique Reality Worlds," Journal of Individual Psychology 16 (1960) pp. 158-173.

4. For a discussion of the Wilcoxon signed rank test see Sidney Seigel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc.) pp. 75-82.

5. See David C. Ruesink and Thomas B. Batson, "Success Factors Associated with Relocating Workers from Non-Metropolitan Areas," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Departmental Information Report Number 68-8 (November, 1968) pp. 2-21.

6. See David C. Ruesink and Michael C. Kleibrink, "Mexican Americans from the Rio Grande to Ling Temco Vought," Labor Law Journal 20 (August 1969) pp. 473-479.

Decision Stability: A study in the Definitiveness of Career Choice

Eugen Schoenfeld

The process of career decision has been investigated from numerous frames of reference,* albeit, most studies concerned themselves with analyzing the process of selecting a career as well as the future occupational area. This paper reports on another aspect of career choice, namely, the effect of parental socio-economic status on the stability of one's career decisions. More precisely, our research examines the extent to which individuals (and in this case college students) stay with their decision.

Sample and data. Data used in this research were collected for a more extensive study examining career plans of college students in the State of Tennessee. Questionnaires were administered to graduating students from 23 colleges and universities. From the total sample of 4894 students including representatives of various majors as well as colleges and universities, we limited the sample for the purpose of this research to respondents who majored in the Humanities and the Social Sciences at the five larger urban universities, thus reducing the sample to 554 students. The reason for this reduction lies in the nature of the topic under investigation. Previous research shows that decision stability is related to the occupation one choses. For instance, students who intend to enter medicine, law or engineering not only decide relatively early in their life about their career (Scantlebuty, 1948 and Blum, 1947) but tend to stay firm about their decision. Limiting our sample to these two academic areas, we expected to get a relatively homogeneous group of students, at least with regard to their choice of occupation, hoping thus to minimize the inequities in decisions that might otherwise arise from proposed career variations. Our second decision, that is to limit the sample only to students attending the major universities was based on the assumption that these universities providing greater academic offerings also provide a greater potential for changes in major interests. Data in Table 1 shows this assumption to hold true: 51.82 per cent of the students who attended the five major universities had only one major during their college careers but 64.37 per cent of those for the lesser colleges and universities had similar records.

Hypothesis. In an a priori consideration of the problem to be investigated we hypothesized that:

> Socio-economic class of parents is
> negatively related with stability
> of career decision.

In other words, it was our contention that students from higher socio-economic background, having greater freedom for experimentation, and, more importantly, lesser stress to commit themselves to a future career, will more often vascilate about their future career than students from lower socio-economic background. Because of the importance of occupational decision to a child's future we felt that more afluent parents will permit their child to use his college period as his "tentative period", (Ginsberg, et. al. 1951) a time when he develops broader perspectives and becomes more sensitive to his needs and abilities and also becomes cognizant of the occupation that will satisfy these needs. This assumption is somewhat supported by a previous research in which it was found that students from higher socio-economic backgrounds tend to decide upon their career later than students from lower economic backgrounds. (Schoenfeld, 1969) Surely, we thought, middle class students' experimentation includes decisions about careers as well as the right to reconsider and negate previous decisions. On the other hand, students from lower socio-economic background in order to get financial support from parents, have to show a strong commitment to a career - thus justifying their request for finances which their parents may not afford. That is, a child from lower class background in order to go to college will try to convince his parents that college expense is an important investment for his financial future in a field to which he is committed. A show of strong commitment and an early career decision among the lower class students we feel, is necessary to overcome parental skepticism about the value of education, their inertia toward education as means of mobility, and more importantly their negative image of their children's abilities. (Kahl, 1953; Sewell, 1957; Kandel and Lesser, 1969)

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*For a summary of various frames of reference see Osipow (1968).

Operationalization. To measure the variable "decision stability" we examined the extent to which a student has changed his major by the time he finished his college education. It was our contention that a decision to pursue a given major in college was tantamount to a career decision. Surely, pursuing a degree in a specified field indicates that after graduation the student intends to seek employment in his field of specialization. We do admit however, that using the college major as an indicator of decision stability as well as selecting only college students for sample necessarily impose limitations on the study. Yet, we do believe that despite its short commings this operationalization may be justified, particularly as the first attempt to pursue the study of occupational choice along this demension.

Parental socio-economic status was determined, for the purposes of this study, by the father's occupation. These were divided into three groups: upper-level occupations including the occupations higher executive, proprietors of large and medium sized concerns, major professionals, business managers and lesser professionals; middle-level occupations including white collar workers and skilled workers; and lower-level occupations including white collar workers and unskilled workers. Specific occupations were categorized on the basis of Hollingshead's (1957) criterion in two factor index of social position.

Findings. Data in Tables 2,3,and 4 do not support our hypothesis. In fact, data show just the contrary seems to be true, namely, that if anything, parental socio-economic status is inversly related with decision stability. Table 2 shows that 56.38 per cent of students with fathers in upper level occupations had only one major during their college career while 49.73 per cent of those with fathers in middle level occupations and 42.64 per cent of those with father in lower level occupations also had only one major. The proportion of those with two majors thus increases as parental occupational level decreases: 31.71 per cent of students with parents of upper-level occupations, 41.36 per cent with middle-level occupations and 44.85 per cent with parents of lower-level occupations had two majors by the time of graduation. The proportion of those who had three or more majors does not seem to be related with parental status, possibly because of our small sample size in these categories. Data in Table 2 and 3 show that this relationship holds true regardless of sex: A higher proportion of both male and female students from upper socio-economic status have only one major than those from lower socio-economic background. The question now confronts us: How can we explain the trend that is contrary to our expectations. The reason for this phenomenon, we believe, is associated with the academic year in which the decision is made. As we have indicated earlier upper status students, in contrast to students from lower classes, tend to decide later in their life about their career. In other words, students from upper-middle and upper-class socio-economic background have a greater latitude for experimentation leading to a later career choice. Precisely this greater freedom of middle and upper class students to postpone their career decision,and the lack of stress to commit themselves lead to a more decisive pursuit of an academic or professional course of study. On the other hand, students from lower socio-economic class, who because of financial considerations must indicate an early commitment to a career when entering college decide early on a major have therefore a longer time span in college to be influenced either by faculty or other students to change their major. More importantly, students from upper socio-economic backgrounds, especially those in colleges, are simply more aware of the various professions than those of the lower socio-economic classes. This greater knowledge is derived from the high schools which middle class students attend (which are more college oriented and place greater stress on professional education) as well as from value orientation of parents and family friends. Thus, when the middle class students decide upon a career they do so not only later in their educational process, but, also because their decision is based on more information, it is more stable.

In summary, the necessarily rather tentative findings of this research indicate, that parental socio-economic status is positively related to decision stability.

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Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF
MAJORS IN SELECTED SAMPLE BY MALES
(IN PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Numbers of Majors				
	1	2	3	4	Totals
High	57.51	32.02	9.15	1.30	153
Middle	49.62	39.84	9.77	.75	133
Low	43.92	43.92	10.28	1.86	107

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF
MAJORS IN SELECTED SAMPLE BY FEMALES
(IN PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Numbers of Majors				
	1	2	3	4	Totals
High	53.42	31.50	10.95	4.10	73
Middle	49.12	45.61	10.00	.00	57
Low	45.00	42.00	10.00	4.00	40

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF
MAJORS HELD DURING COLLEGE
(IN PERCENTAGES)

Colleges	1	2	3	4
Major	51.82	39.47	77.78	0.93
Minor	64.37	30.92	4.21	0.50

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF
MAJORS IN SELECTED SAMPLE
(IN PERCENTAGES)

Occupation	1	2	3	4	Totals
High	56.38	31.71	9.69	2.20	227
Middle	49.73	41.36	8.37	.52	191
Low	42.64	43.53	11.02	2.04	147
Total					554

ROLE STRAIN AND ALIENATION IN A SECRETIVE PROFESSION:
THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENT

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This paper will explore some of the patterns of alienation and role strains accompanying the dual requirements of the military intelligence agent to adhere to strict military procedures while also requiring his deployment of any expeditious means available to secure and disseminate vital intelligence information. In the field of sociology, the concept of alienation has been a catchword for a vast multitude of discontentments[1] with an almost unlimited number of meanings. Therefore, its usage here is restricted more nearly to Goffmans's "role distance"[2] than to the psycho-sociological criteria delineated by Seeman[3] of meaninglessness, powerlessness, and self-estrangement. Role strain will be defined as a condition resulting from an overdemand of role obligations within existing resources of a single role.[4] The ambivalence resulting from single role demands will be stressed to the exclusion of the role conflict dilemmas resulting from multiple-role obligations.

Military Intelligence, to carry out its assigned mission, must break the formal norms of military discipline upon which the military establishment rests. The alienation and role strains which accompany these mutually incompatable expectations of the Military Intelligence agent's role will be examined within the following contexts. a) Structural-functional distinctions between the operation of a tactical vs. a Military Intelligence unit; b) Alienation between functional components within the Military Intelligence branch itself; c) The role strains which impinge on the private social and familial life of a special agent.

The secretive nature of the M.I. organization prohibits authorized investigation into its functions and informal operations. However, through focused interviews with officers and enlisted men previously or currently associated with the M.I. branch over a four year period, information which does not consitute a breach of their security regulations was gathered. Of the interviewees, five were officers, two were enlisted men and one undetermined. They represented both Army and Air Force intelligence branches and although terms and designations differ between these two services, the intelligence structures are basically the same, In each there are three operational levels-- top command and policy, middle range administrative, and field level operations. In the Army structure, the top is the pentagon-based G-2 section which uses groups for area administration. Companies at the grass-roots level contain special agents or platoons of agents who are the ones who most experience alienation and role strain. The Air Force has the director of Office of Special Investigations (OSI) within the Inspector General for Security section at the pentagon. They administer the intelligence program through district offices designated on an area basis, with detachments containing agents operating in the field.

Military Intelligence structure, although formally similar to the tables of organization of tactical units, is somewhat distinct due to its functional uniqueness. For example, within the tactical company each platoon is non-specialized and men and equipment are, for the most part, interchangeable. Within the Military Intelligence company, platoon designations correspond to the distinct functions of general investigations (positive intelligence), personnel security investigations, and counter-intelligence work. These three functions have distinct demands for organizational "cover" and agent deception and their dissimilar missions create an operational cleavage between them which can be surmounted with extreme difficulty only for very specific cases.

Intelligence and tactical units differ in personnel matters. For instances, the ratio of officers to enlisted men as well as their degree of personal involvement differs substantially. A normal officer-enlisted ratio in a standard military command might be 1 to 40 whereas an M.I. operation usually reflects a low 1 to 2 ratio. Since the nature of investigative fieldwork demands many of the same background qualities basic to commissioned personnel, officers are substantially over-recruited for this branch. Also, because of the selectivity involved, only very competent enlisted men are chosen and trained for intelligence work. Moreover, in their field operation it would not be unusual to have a competent enlisted man commanding a neophyte officer agent for his first few months, correcting him and making competency judgments on his abilities to perform intelligence duties. However, due to the official military structural arrangement in all units, that same officer might be required to attest, via the efficiency report, to the competence and potential promotion of the enlisted man who had only recently been critical of his field adaptability. Finally, officers and enlisted agents are trained together, housed together, and socially integrated without status or rank as compared to the strict maintenance of separate officer and enlisted academies provided for the regular military branches. Needless to say, role identification becomes confusing under these circumstances wherein technical competency makes demands within the agent role which are in violation of official military procedures. Role strain is the result and various forms of alienation are employed to ameliorate these effects of obligation overload.

Within the M.I. security is essential in the gathering and dispersing of confidential and valuable information. Not only must information "leaks" be prevented between the M.I. and other tactical units but also between the functional divisions of the M.I. structure itself. Information can only be procured by demonstrating a "need to know" irrespective of rank privileges. Many times the key to a vital military operation is filed inches away from the docket containing the remaining materials because its presence was not requested. Agents who "scope" a case are not provided existing information without demonstrating their "need to know." This secrecy provides protection from unauthorized use of assembled information but it likewise delimits the data use to those few commands possessing the skill to request and justify intelligence data. This ignorance concerning the functions and operation of the Military Intelligence also preserves its privileged position within the various services, maintains its power with a minimum of opposition, and prevents jealousy from non-intelligence personnel with regard to differential rewards available to M.I. constituents.[5] This ignorance of operations differs considerably for the three functional divisions of M.I. Positive intelligence, designed to gather data and penetrate the enemy's information channels, must have a more deceptive "cover" than counter-intelligence which is regarded a legitimate defensive measure of national security. Not only must the former organization itself be disguised as to its real function, but its agents must not be identified with the other intelligence operations and in many instances, must use unofficial "covers" to negate their military connection. On the other hand, counter intelligence demands only a "cover" for its personnel. This is done through minimal precautions of wearing civilian clothing, not rating military courtesies such as a salute for officers, and by adopting a style of life which is not conspicously different from others in the society. These security restrictions, while functional to the operation of the intelligence mission, are at the same time somewhat dysfunctional for the agents themselves in their non-occupational social relationships. Bound by military employment but not readily involved or identified with it, dressing and acting civilian but without the perrogatives of civilian life, their activities become articulated within both of these worlds, yet they seem to belong to neither. As one agent described this anomolous situation,

> I live mostly in the civilian community and most of my friends are civilians. I guess I mostly think like a civilian since I haven't been in an Army uniform in more than a decade... Where I live, I have a Sergeant as my neighbor and a Lt. Colonel down the block. Although I get along with each of them very well without too much strain without either knowing my rank, they are miles apart socially and the three of us cannot mix together in a strictly social situation.

In the Air Force, military involvement on post for special agents is made possible by a standardized practice of all agents being honorary members of the NCO club. In this manner they may have some social interaction with other military personnel without revealing their rank. This practice of wearing civilian clothing rather than the uniform and insignia is to facilitate the intelligence gathering process, but some latent consequences arise from this practice, especially when the person to be interviewed is part of the military establishment. One unusual occurrence reported by an agent illustrates the problem of relating to an intelligence agent without the traditional clues for establishing superordinate-subordinate patterns of communication.

> I was making a routine inquiry in which a Major was to be a source of information. After making an appointment to see him, in which I identified myself and my purpose, I was surprised to find that when I entered his office, he immediately snapped to attention and saluted in the finest military manner. I was a Sergeant at the time, dressed in civilian attire. In the span of ten minutes I went from a "blue collar" worker in my own office to a highly respected "white collar" position in regards to that Major, solely on the merits of my intelligence occupational duties.

The close association and cooperation between non-commissioned and officer agents produces an equalitarian relationship based on professional proficiency and mutual respect. This is alien to the authority pattern involving formal rank courtesies which is characteristic of the military bureaucratic structure. Whereas some officer agents might feel relatively deprived by relinquishing their officer status within the context of "unranked" agents, the enlisted man has greatest vulnerability to being caught between various role expectations involving role strain. During the course of an average day it would not be unusual for a low-ranking, highly educated, competent enlisted agent to wash a latrine, shovel snow, reprimand an officer agent for operational incompetence, and confer with a high ranking military diplomatic office on a case involving the national security. When rigorous formal military standards are superimposed on a situation demanding flexibility and adjustment, role strain is increased. So an agent who wishes to operate effectively within the M.I. community must afflicit himself with a degree of "schzophrenia" or role segmentation. Potential agents who cannot cast aside the rigors of formal military procedures to assume innovative and expeditious means, be they officer or enlisted, are dysfunctional to the M.I. operation. One Lieutenant who was recruited to Military Intelligence insisted on wearing his uniform which gave him some feeling of superiority among the non-commissioned agents. Prior to being assigned to the CIC training school, he was quietly returned to the regular ranks of the Air Corps. Not only does the attempt to maintain strict military discipline within the M.I. unit affect the interpersonal relationships of the agents themselves, but it also has negative latent consequences for the unit in performing its assigned mission.

> We got in a new Group commander from the Infrantry who was very gung-ho on acting like a soldier. He decided that all enlisted personnel from our intelligence unit from corporal grade up would attent the NCO academy at a nearby military base. This eventually resulted in severe complications for one sergeant from our office... This sergeant was calling on a Major concerning either a liaison or an operational case and upon presenting his creditentials was immediately accorded the respect given to a M.I. agent or officer. The cooperation extended and rapport was excellent. As the Major and the agent strolled through an adjoining office in which privates and corporals were doing routine filing jobs, one young private called out--- "Hey, Sarge, how goes it? Hey, fellas, there's a guy that was with me at the NCO training in-----. Boy, did we have a blast." At that moment the mood changed between the agent and the Major and thereafter only routine cooperation accorded a non-com was extended.

A similar case produced a direct confrontation between Army command channels and unofficial intelligence standards. A special agent with the rank of corporal was assigned to an unusually large M.I. unit. An ex-agent, a uniformed First Sergeant, was in charge with a contingent of uniformed privates and corporals to give support to the organization. One day the uniformed sergeant demanded that all non-uniformed agents go outside in the parking lot and clip grass. The agent refused due to the possible consequences of such action on his current assignment, with the following explanation.

> I had been working with a full Colonel in the JAG corps to return an American defector from a neighboring Eurpoean country and he was establishing a legal basis for me to extradite the man. I often met this colonel outside our office as he went to and from work, and he knew me by name. I refused to clip grass in front because the uniform support personnel could do it without "blowing their cover" but the danger of my encountering the JAG Colonel in such circumstances might prejudice the extradition operation.

A Court Martial for insubordination was ordered against the agent, but the Commanding officer of the M.I. unit decided in favor of the agent on the basis of the saliency of operational demands over routine military discipline. By justifying the agent's refusal, the commander abrogated the mandates of military courtesy and in the process refused to back a subordinate issuing a direct order to an inferior based on those mandates. Thus, the role strain inherent within the agent role becomes extended to other military personnel and the formal structure itself. Lacking the command cues of rank, these and the informal field expedients essential for the effective operation of the intelligence organization must be reconciled.

An agent has daily contact with unclassified and "Top Secret" information. Security demands that the latter be restricted for intelligence use only. Unable to distinguish which data pertain to which category, the agent is faced with an aspect of role strain which is partially resolved by alienating his occupational life from his private social existence. Although establishing role distance between occupational duties and familial or friendship relations solves the security problem, it creates the tension for the agent of having to guard himself constantly against divulging secret information either to his friends or family members. Since the agent is constantly accumulating intelligence information without a source for divulging it, this creates a constantly increasing pressure which must be periodically released.

> The only time I can really be myself and get out from under this pressure is when our detachment or division (with our commanding officer) gets together. We can exchange all types of experiences and information within our own ranks, and this helps lower the pressure of being always security conscious.

Even the normal confidences of marriage partners cannot be shared by the intelligence agent.

> All day long you are dealing with all types of information-- classified and unclassified-- and when you begin to make small talk at home, you are constantly afraid that you are talking about some of the classified stuff, and it makes uninhibited conversation with those you love very awkward. Since I was recently married and without children there was a very difficult time in my marriage inasmuch as we ran out of things to talk about. Maintaining an effective husband-wife relationship under those circumstances was extremely difficult.

Another impact of security obligations extends to the agent's family members who already possess information concerning the fathers rank prior to his intelligence assignment and who accidently acquire information concerning the fathers activities. Neighbors constantly inquire of the wife-- "What does he really do? I won't tell anyone. You can trust me!" Children are often "pumped" by neighbors for details of the fathers rank, activities and "secrets." One agent even reported that his C.O. had to contact a school principal when an agent's son refused to give the rank of his agent father. On any occasion the family members must be ready to distort the truth if one slips and gives away details which should not be made public.

Summary

Although role strain is not peculiar to intelligence agents (having been described in both military and non-military professions^{6}), the agent's dual role obligations coupled with the security measures and public ignorance surrounding the intelligence operation itself, intensifies the role strains which do exist. The ambivalence of accomplishing the intelligence mission under a cloak of secrecy while adhering to traditional formal procedures of military bureaucratic authority creates role strain within the role of the military intelligence agent far in excess of that experienced by other professional roles.

FOOTNOTES

1-Irene Taviss "Changes in the Form of Alienation: The 1900's vs. the 1950's" American Sociological Review 34 (February 1969) p.46

2-Irving Goffman, Encounters (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1961) pp. 85-152 See also its implementation by Rose Laub Coser "Role Distance, Sociological Ambivalence, and Transitional Status Systems", American Journal of Sociology 72 (September 1966) pp. 173-187

3-Melvin Seeman "on the Meaning of Alienation" American Sociological Review 24 (December 1959) pp.784-786, 789-790

4- From William J. Goode "A Theory of Role Strain", American Sociological Review 25 (August 1960) pp. 483-496

5- Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin "Some Social Functions of Ignorance" American Sociological Review 14 (December 1949) pp. 788-791

6-Two Well known examples of such studies are Mark G. Field "Structures Strain in the Role of the Soviet Physician" American Journal of Sociology 58 (March 1953) pp. 493-502 and Waldo W. Burchard "Role Conflicts fo Military Chaplains" American Sociological Review 19 (October 1954) pp. 528-535

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND PERSONALITY OF POLICE OFFICERS*

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INTRODUCTION

The three major desires which men seek to satisfy by working are: human relations which include recognition as a person, independence, fair treatment, opportunity for self-expression and status; activities which are composed of interesting work activities and work situations that are carried out under agreeable conditions; and assured livelihood based on current earnings and security.[1]

Social scientists have been interested in occupational choice in various vocational pursuits for many years. However, very little research has been attempted to determine the characteristics, personality traits and environmental variables of policemen.

This study is devoted to the exploration of variables that may be considered the motivating factors in the choice of the occupation as a policeman. Specifically, it is an attempt to determine the trait of authoritarianism in the personality matrix of police officers and, further, it is an attempt to determine what values a person believes will be satisfied by pursuing an occupation in law enforcement.

Studies conducted along the lines of occupational preference in police departments reveal that men seek this occupation to satisfy the need for security.[2] Other prevalent variables are, however, adventure, service, prestige, belonging to a group of dedicated men, variety and challenge.[3]

One of the many attitudes that comprise the matrix of personality is that of authoritarianism. Authoritarianism is the personality make-up characterized by anti-democratic ideas such as conservative political ideology, prejudice toward groups other than one's own, and a strong and morally determined rejection of anything that is not conventional. Pioneer work in this area was done by Adorno, et al, following World War II. One of the several scales developed by Adorno is the Facism Scale (F-Scale) which measures authoritarianism and is concerned with (1) conventionalism, (2) authoritarianism and submission, (3) authoritarian aggression, (4) anti-introception, (5) superstition and stereotypy, (6) power and toughness, (7) destructiveness and cynicism, and (8) projectivity.[4]

While a number of studies have been conducted to ascertain the validity of the F-Scale, no consensus of opinion has been obtained. Research in this area reveals authoritarianism is evident among the less educated, the rural, members of disadvantaged minorities, the aged, the more dogmatic religious organizations, the lower socio-economic strata, social isolates and those who have been reared in an authoritarian family environment. The F-Scale, no doubt, has many limitations, nevertheless, the instrument does measure the factors it is purported to reveal and is one of the best measures of authoritarianism that is available.[5]

Purpose and Methodology

The purpose of this study is to attempt to determine if the authoritarian syndrome is relevant to the choice of law enforcement as an occupation. Also, an effort is directed to ascertain if most police officers in the sample feel their reason for choosing the law enforcement field is a desire for security.

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*This paper is part of an M. A. Thesis at Texas Tech University.

At the time of this occupational study of the Lubbock, Texas, Police Department in June of 1968, 191 out of a quota of 196 positions were filled. No claim is made that the sample measured in this study is a representative group. A sample of 100, 52 percent, of the police officers volunteered to participate by completing a questionnaire and the F-Scale which measures authoritarianism. These are the basic instruments utilized in this study.

The questionnaire was designed to determine the following factors: (1) basic data such as age, rank, length of employment and military service; (2) personal data composed of such items as place of birth, marital status and family income; (3) family background data included parental occupations, education, religion, the total family income and the size of the community in which the family resided; (4) motivational and value data directed at the feelings relative to the prestige of law enforcement held before employment, relatives or kin groups working in law enforcement, and sources of information regarding vacancies and stated reasons for choosing law enforcement as a career; (5) occupational impressions, such as the degree of satisfaction with employment, feelings of prestige after employment, ambition within the department and factors causing dissatisfaction.

At different on-coming briefings, during three consecutive days, the entire project was explained with the approval of the police administration. The questionnaire and the F-Scale were distributed and administered to those officers who had volunteered. The questionnaire and the F-Scale were completed in approximately thirty minutes to an hour and were gathered before the men reported to their regular duties.

Findings and Interpretation

Of prime concern in this research was the establishment of a relationship between an authoritarian syndrome of personality and the choosing of law enforcement as an occupation. Tabulation showed that the sample of police officers scored 4.49, which is higher than the original group tested by Adorno, et al, who scored 3.84. These findings appear to support the hypothesis that there is a relationship between choosing law enforcement as a career and having basic authoritarian tendencies and traits. As an estimate of the mean score of the F-Scale, either mean is subject to possible variation in the amount of the Standard Error. Yet, the Standard Error for neither mean is great enough to include the other, indicating a real difference between the populations.

To determine whether these officers chose law enforcement which reflected an authoritarian personality trait or if they became authoritarian through socialization in the occupation is of importance to this study. A relationship may be seen between the length of service and the authoritarian scale. There were seven officers in training, at the time the study was conducted, who had less than three months of service. This group's mean score was 4.16. The officers with less than one year's service, but more than three months' service, had a mean score of 4.67. Officers with one to two years of service had a mean score of 4.53. Officers with three to four years' service lowered their mean score to 4.37. Officers with five to ten years of service lowered to a mean score of 4.32. Those officers with ten or more years of service specifically raised their mean score to 4.65.

The mean score of the F-Scale rises to a peak at the end of the first year and again at ten or more years of service. The intermediate years of service show a lower mean score. A possible explanation of this trend is that after initial confidence is gained and authoritarianism is developed, the policeman becomes older and more complacent until he has approximately ten years of service with the department. At this time, he may be motivated to exhibit a more authoritarian personality by either the possibility of being replaced by a younger, more aggressive man, or by a desire to excel as he reaches greater maturity.

An interesting discovery concerned the various stated reasons given by the respondents for becoming police officers. Those officers who stated "security" as their main reason had a mean score of 4.46. The officers who indicated they chose law enforcement to satisfy an "interest," or for "personal satisfaction," scored 4.61 and 4.66 respectively, which is higher than the over-all mean of 4.49. The officers who stated they sought law enforcement in order to be "helpful," scored 4.11, which is the lowest mean score of all the various categories by which the information was tabulated. Officers who indicated they went to work for the "adventure" that the occupation offered scored 4.35. This reveals significantly that approximately one-third of the officers in this sample possibly desire a career in law enforcement in order to satisfy a personality need of an authoritarian nature. It should be noted, however, that the mean F-Score for "interest," 4.61, or the mean F-Score for "personal satisfaction," 4.66, is not appreciably higher than 4.49, the over-all mean score of the entire sample. More importantly is the discovery that almost 10 percent revealed a "social worker" attitude, "helpfulness," and scored significantly lower, 4.11, than the over-all mean score.

The F-Scale by Division, showed that the Detective Division scored 4.30, the Patrol 4.42, the Service 4.53, the Juvenile 4.56, and the Traffic Division scored highest with 4.68. One explanation of this finding could possibly be accredited to how often the officers, in the various divisions, come into contact with the public in a negative manner in which more authority is necessary in dealing with a particular situation such as traffic. For example, the Traffic Division possibly finds itself in a more antagonistic position in contact with the public in issuing citations and investigating accidents where emotions may be at a high pitch. This unconsciously develops a more rigid and unyielding thought process, perhaps in response to the antagonistic attitude of the traffic violators. It is felt that a great deal of confidence cannot be placed on these findings due to the small number of participants in the Service and Detective Divisions.

There is little difference in the mean F-Scale Score among Patrolmen, Lieutenants, and Captains. The Sergeants, however, scored significantly higher with a score of 4.76. This can possibly be explained by the fact that Sergeants have a more authoritarian attitude because of their authoritarian-submissiveness (an item determined by the F-Scale). They are in a more responsible position than are Patrolmen, but not in as comfortable situations as are Lieutenants and Captains.

As to educational level and the F-Scale, it is revealed that those officers with less than a high school formal education have a mean F-Scale Score of 4.46. Those officers who finished high school education have a mean score of 4.42. These findings indicate that there appears to be little difference on the authoritarianism scale relative to the educational level attained by these policemen.

Security

There were three open-ended questions on the questionnaire that were designed to reveal what the police officer felt was his reason for choosing law enforcement as an occupation. The results of the first question, "What values did you consider the

Police Department offering before you went to work?" indicate more than one-half, or 57 percent, of the police officers indicated "security" as the significant value which law enforcement offered, prior to their entering police work. Of the remainder, nine percent said "interesting work," seven percent said it gave an "opportunity to be helpful," and three percent expressed "to gain prestige." The "no answer" category comprised 24 percent of the officers, perhaps because they did not fully understand the question.

To the question, "What does the field of law enforcement offer that you do not find in other occupations?" responses varied. Twenty-five percent indicated "variety," 14 percent "personal satisfaction," 11 percent "helpfulness," 15 percent "benefits," 10 percent "adventure," eight percent "challenge," three percent "prestige," and 14 percent did not answer the question.

The last item on the questionnaire was, "Why did you become a Police Officer?" Forty-eight percent indicated "security," or the benefits the job offers such as: no lay-offs, good working conditions, good hours, good sick leave, good vacation, good pay, and a retirement system. Other reasons were: "interesting work," given by 23 percent of the officers; "personal satisfaction" indicated by 11 percent of the respondents; "helpfulness" revealed by nine percent of the sample; "adventure" stated by seven percent of the respondents, and only two percent of the officers did not answer the question. The idea that police feel they choose law enforcement as a career is supported by the high percentage, 48 percent, of the respondents who indicated "security" as the prime reason for choosing law enforcement as an occupation.

In sum, the analysis of the findings of the F-Scale indicate that police officers do actually rate higher as authoritarian personalities than the population in general. The findings of this study indicate that the selection of this vocation does fulfill authoritarian personality needs for these police officers although 48 percent of them listed "security" as the primary reason for their vocational selection.

FOOTNOTES

1. Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers: An Introduction to Vocational Development (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957) p. 14.

2. Elwood W. Guernsey, "The State Trooper: A Study of Men and Attitudes in Law Enforcement," Research Reports in Social Science, Vol. 9, No. 2 (August, 1966) p. 46. See also Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967) p. 36; John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training," The Police, ed. by David J. Bordua (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967) p. 194; Jack J. Priess and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966) p. 12.

3. Guernsey, op. cit., pp. 44, 46, 49. See also Preiss, op. cit., p. 13; Niederhoffer, op. cit., pp. 133, 140, 147.

4. T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1950) p. 228.

5. Roger William Brown, Social Psychology (New York: The Free Press, 1965) p. 526. Also see H. Edwin Titus and E. P. Hollander, "The California F-Scale in Psychological Research: 1950-1955," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 54, No. 1 (1957) pp. 47-64.

SCHOOLS, SOCIAL SYSTEMS, AND STUDENT SOCIALIZATION

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While many social scientists[1] have suggested that the school is an important locus for the origin and maintenance of norms distinctive to adolescents, none of the existing empirical studies of school organizations have convincingly demonstrated either that school boundaries incorporate a set of shared values which do not exist among all adolescents or which distinguish between the realms of school and community influence on adolescent perspectives. This paper describes an empirical assessment of the assumption that schools can be considered to be relatively distinct social systems. In the course of the analysis, some predominant norms and values within school organizations and potential sources of variation between schools are identified.

Identification of Properties and Boundaries

There are many reasons for assuming that local schools constitute social systems which can be distinguished from other contiguous settings such as the home or surrounding community. First, the role of student constitutes a publicly recognized position. Second, there are formally prescribed interaction situations within schools. And, finally, schools provide a field for the formation of status and role relationships. The most cited evidence for the contention that schools are relatively distinct social systems are the findings which identify attitudes and prestige hierarchies in high school student bodies which do not reflect the expected scholarly values.[2] However, such evidence is inadequate since there is no comparable information for non-school populations. In fact, the observations of anti-intellectual tendencies in America[3] and the implicit support of adolescent values by parents who want their children to be liked by peers[4] suggest that students' non-scholarly orientations are simply a reflection of societal values.

Many of the usual techniques for identifying subcultural properties are difficult to apply here. If these organizations were not so pervasively related with other relational settings, one could simply contrast the predominant values and attitudes which are found for a school with those which are characteristic of another group.[5] An extensive sociometric analysis has also been suggested:[6] this, too, would be a complex procedure. Alternatively, the effects of school membership can be inferred from internal organizational distinctions which constitute the effects of differing lengths of school membership on student attitudes and orientations. This is the method employed here. The prospect that any observed attitudinal changes are a function of general experiences corresponding with age-grading for all adolescents is anticipated by assessing the effects of the variable number of membership years between schools. For example, a comparison between eleventh graders from seven through twelve, nine through twelve, and ten through twelve grade-ranges effectively contrasts same-age students who have spent five, three, and two years with the same school organization, respectively. Variations of two sets of attitudes are described: orientations toward roles which are found within school organizations and the degree to which an element of the surrounding community, students' socio-economic status, is incorporated in school esteem hierarchies.

Methods and Hypotheses

Data for these analyses are questionnaire responses from an adolescent study[7] which originally included 74 schools in three county and two city educational districts in North Carolina and three city and two county units in Ohio. Nineteen of these schools were chosen for the present study. These contain an average number of 40 students per grade-level, were publicly supported and contained all personnel in a single physical plant. These criteria were used in order to obtain similar characteristics between schools of differing numbers of grade-levels. The criterion of size excluded forty-four schools; other omissions were based on the remaining criteria, noted above. The nineteen schools constituted four categories of grade-ranges: those containing grade-levels seven through nine (seven: five from N.C., two from Ohio) seven through twelve (three: two from N.C., one from Ohio), nine through twelve (five: two from N.C., three from Ohio), and ten through twelve (four: two from N.C., two from Ohio). An important contribution to the reliability of the relationships is the large number of respondents from these nineteen schools, 7,995 students.

The measure of adolescents' attitudes toward role orientations was obtained from responses to the following inquiry: "How would you most like to be remembered in school: As a star athlete, a brilliant student, a leader in activities, or most popular?" Roles which are specifically identified with school organizations are "brilliant student" and "leader in activities;" taken singly, the former indicates a scholarly orientation and the latter a non-scholarly perspective. The response categories of "most popular" and "star athlete" are not role orientations which are necessarily more characteristic of student than non-student populations.

The degree to which students' community positions are incorporated in school relational settings is indicated by the relationships between adolescents' socio-economic status and their perceived esteem within schools. The former was dichotomized by father's occupation: "Lower" (Operatives and kindred, Service workers, Farm laborers) and "Middle and Working" (Professional and Managerial, White Collar, and Skilled workers).[9] Students' esteem in schools was obtained from responses to the following item: "If someone who knew the way things work at your school rated all the groups of students on a scale, from the leading crowd down to the ones that don't rate so well, which of the following would best describe your own group of best friends?: They would rate near the top, Above average but not a leading crowd, About average, A little below average, They would be near the bottom." Although this item is not a direct measure of individual student esteem, a response would represent a student's evaluation of a salient reference group whose identity has important self-defining consequences. Responses to this item will be reported as the percentages of students maintaining "higher" conceptions of esteem as indicated by selection of either the first or second options.

The data are analyzed for summations of same grade-range schools within categories of sex and socio-economic status. The combination of schools maintaining the same grade-range isolates the source of variation which is lengths of student membership in the same school organization while randomizing the effects of potential idiosyncratic characteristics of individual schools.

The theoretical orientation and purposes of this study suggest four hypotheses. These have been anticipated in the previous discussions. The first hypothesis is that students' attractions to the predominant role orientations will correspond with the length of school membership when the effects of other social and/or maturational experiences associated with age-grading are controlled. Thus, in contrasts across same grade-levels (tenth, or eleventh, or twelfth), school socialization effects are expected to be most pronounced in the seven through twelve grade-ranges, next most apparent in the

TABLE

Percentages of Students Perceiving High Rank of Their Group of Friends in School by Socio-Economic Categories

Grade-Ranges and Socio-Economic Categories	Grade-Levels Nine	 Ten	 Eleven
Seven through Twelve			
Middle and Working	67.3% (110)*	66.3% (95)	71.4% (85)
	d=20.0%	d=7.7%	d=2.1%
Lower	47.3 (93)	58.6 (87)	69.3 (75)
Nine through Twelve			
Middle and Working	65.7 (280)	75.8 (240)	70.0 (247)
	d=26.0%	d=26.1%	d=16.0%
Lower	39.7 (166)	49.7 (147)	54.0 (148)
Ten through Twelve			
Middle and Working		66.6 (653)	68.9 (592)
		d=22.9%	d=19.8%
Lower		43.7 (261)	49.1 (218)

*Represents Number of Cases

TABLE

Contrasts of Sums of Percentages for Brilliant Student and Leader in Activities Choices in Grade-Levels and Grade-Ranges.

Types of School Grade-Ranges, Sex, Occupational Status of Father	Percentages by Grade-Levels			
	Twelve	Eleven	Ten	Total
Middle-and-Working Males in Schools Containing Grade-Levels				
Seven through Twelve	61.9%	52.2%	62.7%	305
Nine through Twelve	53.7	52.4	44.4	482
Ten through Twelve	57.4	52.8	45.6	947
Middle-and-Working Females in Schools Containing Grade-Levels				
Seven through Twelve	91.2	84.2	69.8	299
Nine through Twelve	83.2	76.5	68.2	495
Ten through Twelve	78.2	74.3	70.4	894
Lower Males in Schools Containing Grade-Levels				
Seven through Twelve	62.9	58.4	41.5	222
Nine through Twelve	43.7	47.9	55.3	264
Ten through Twelve	41.8	33.7	38.3	315
Lower Females in Schools Containing Grade-Levels				
Seven through Twelve	94.7	74.3	86.4	250
Nine through Twelve	76.9	68.5	61.5	304
Ten through Twelve	75.2	70.7	66.4	340
Total N				5,117

nine through twelve types, and least notable in the ten through twelve schools. The second hypothesis is that the predominant role orientations are those which are specifically identified with school organizations: "brilliant student" and "leader in activities." Since school socialization effects are interpreted from the first hypothesis, a confirmation of the latter but not the second prediction would indicate that the school is a distinct socializing agent without an independent normative system. The third hypothesis distinguishes between the school-role orienations: scholarly objectives will not be the predominant student valuation. A greater increase in responses with length of membership is expected for the leader in activities than the brilliant student choice. The fourth hypothesis deals with the exclusion of extra-school values: The association between students socio-economic status and their esteem in school organizations will attenuate with ascending grade-levels. Thus, the prestige differences between the Middle-and-Working and Lower socio-economic groups is expected to become smaller with length of school membership.

Results and Implications:

These data indicate that school socialization effects result in an increased attraction to those roles which are specifically identified with school organizations: leader in activities and brilliant student. However, these variations were clearly more continuous for the Middle-and-Working than the Lower status students and the summed responses for the two school role options only received a majority of choices from respondents in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade-levels. Of the two school roles, the academic orientation received a decreasing proportion of responses with ascending grade-levels. Yet, these data do not support a thesis that students' socialization in schools is accompanied with an increased aversion to academic pursuits in an absolute sense. Thus, teachers' influence may remain rather constant throughout the adolescent's public school career.

As expected, values for the measure of student esteem increased continuously with ascending grade-levels. However, the gains were slightly larger for Lower than for Middle-and-Working status adolescents. Combining all students in high schools, prestige distinctions between socio-economic categories were found to decrease from a difference of 24.1% to 15.2% between grade-levels nine and eleven and increase slightly to 18.3% in the twelfth school year. Apparently, adolescents prestige criteria increasingly reflect the predominant perspectives in school social systems until the twelfth grade when a crucial determinant for future opportunities, parental income, is reincorporated in esteem hierarchies.

All of the above variations corresponded with lengths of school membership when the effects of age-grading were controlled. Thus, while these attitudinal shifts were partially the result of the number of years spent in public schools, *per se*, they also corresponded with the lengths of membership within single school organizations. Consequently, the degree to which a school organization constitutes a viable social system for adolescents appears to be largely a function of the lengths of time which students spend in that setting with the same students and teachers. In a more general theoretical context, these results tend to support Homans'[10] propositions which describe positive interrelationships between interaction, interpersonal attraction, and the acceptance and/or creation of norms.

FOOTNOTES

1. The best known contributions are Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: Wiley, 1932); C. Wayne Gordon, The Social System of the High School (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957); and James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

2. The most extensive study of high school students' values is by James Coleman. See Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-50.

3. cf. Richard Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life (New York: Knopf, 1963) and Alexis de Toqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Knopf, 1945).

4. Coleman, *op. cit.*, p.34.

5. The classic study by Vogt and O'Dea of two relatively isolated socio-religious communities in the Southwest is a case in point. See Evon Z. Vogt and Thomas O'Dea, "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities," American Sociological Review 18 (December 1953) pp. 645-654.

6. David Riesman, Review of Philip E. Jacob's Changing Values in College, American Sociological Review 23(December 1958), pp. 732.

7. The data are from a study directed by Charles E. Bowerman in 1960-61 and originally supported by Public Health Service Grant M-2045 from the National Institute of Mental Health. I am extremely grateful to Charles Bowerman for making this data available to me.

8. This is similar to two items used by Coleman in the reference cited above. An important difference between Coleman's items and the one employed here is that the former excluded the "star athlete" option for females and the "leader in activities" choice for males. The item used in this study presents the same response categories for both sexes.

9. The rationale for dichotomizing the occupational groups between the Lower and Working categories rather than between the latter and the Middle income groups was to identify those students whose economic deprivations would likely result in noninvolvement in school social systems. A preliminary analysis supported the rationale for this dichotomization.

10. George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1950).

STUDENT DISAFFECTION - AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF COLLEGE SOPHOMORES AT A TEXAS UNIVERSITY

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Today, a greater proportion of the youth than ever before in this nation's history are attending institutions of higher learning. However, a substantial number are failing to realize their educational aspirations in terms of completing college. According to Havighurst and Neugarten, approximately 37% of those of college age would undertake further academic work; many would drop out after one or two years, and about 18% would graduate with a bachelors degree after four years.[1] Among the reasons for this are academic deficiencies, military obligations, changes in marital status, insufficient economic resources, and a number of related reasons. One of these other reasons might include the amount of degree of alienation a student experiences. But as Keniston has said, "The novelty of our modern American situation is too little understood, even by those who are most concerned with alienation, anomie, estrangement, and disconnectedness."[2]

The concept of disaffection usually is menat to include a number of the generally recongnized components of alienation such as, powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, self-estrangement, and the like. It should be noted, however, that the concept need neither be limited to these components nor necessarily include all of them. Other elements of disaffection will be discussed in the concluding remarks of this paper.

Review of Literature

> Just as the concept of social role is one of the major analytical tools of modern sociology, the concept of alienation is one its major themes.

So writes Walter S. Neff in *Work and Human Behavior*,[3] and there would seem to be little disagreement among social scientists as indicated by the number of articles on the subject.

Historically, De Toqueville, Marx, Hegel, Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, and others concerned themselves with the correlates of alienation.[4] It was Marx, however, who was responsible for the transformation of the concept from the philosophical to the sociological realm of inquiry.[5] While it is conceded that efforts to refine the concept of alienation have been fraught with difficulty, numerous attempts have been made to measure what has been operationally defined as "alienation."[6]

Perhaps more than other on the sociological scene, the work of Melvin Seeman[7] and Dwight Dean[8] represents a step toward measurement of what are thought to be the principal components of alienation.[9] Several studies have utilized Dean's alienation scales to measure intercorrelations among the alienation dimensions. One of the more impressive studies was Guerrero and Castillo's work in the Philippines.[10]

Methodological Procedures

The study population for this research project consisted of sophomore students at a state university in the eastern part of Texas. To qualify for inclusion into this statistical grouping each student must have attended this university the previous year. From this study population a random sample of 225 students was drawn. To each was mailed a questionnaire including items relating to the student's background, opinions of the university, and social participation as well as questions pertaining to student disaffection. To measure the latter variable selected questions from Dean's Alienation Scale and Bonjean's Self-Estrangement Scales were utilized. Student participation in voluntary organizations was assessed by means of Chapin's Social Participation Scale. Data were collected and processed during the Fall of 1969-70. All together, a total of 175 sophomores returned questionnaires. Twenty-two of the questionnaires returned were labeled as "unusable" since certain essential information was missing. By sex there were 81 female students and 72 male students. Approximately the same proportion of students came from metropolitan areas (56%) as they did from non-metropolitan areas (44%). The average age of those returning their questionnaires was 20.3 years.

Findings

Alienation and Student Opinions in Regard to the University and the Local Community--It occurred to the authors that the student's opinions of the university and the community in which it is located might be related rather closely to the evidences of disaffection observed on the campus. To determine the extent and direction of a possible relationship between the two variables, items were inserted in the questionnaire to provide some indication of the polarity of opinions. Since the responses were by no means entirely negative, it was decided to classify them merely as low and high. Rather surprisingly, almost three out of every four of the respondents appeared to think quite highly of both university and community.

Cross-classification of opinions and alienation scores revealed merely a tendency for those holding low opinions of university and community to score highly in alienation and for those with favorable opinions to place lowly in degree of alienation. While such results were expected, the relationships were not statistically relevant.

Alienation and Social Participation--In further investigating factors contributing to disaffection on the campus, the students were asked a series of questions designed to indicate the extent of their involvement in social organizations and affairs. Their answers revealed considerable lack of interest in social activities in that less than one in every ten of the respondents indicated a high degree of involvement and less than three in ten admitted a low degree of participation, and almost half denied any interest whatsoever.

Comparison of the social participation and alienation scores of the same students revealed no significant relationship. There was, however, a tendency for those scoring low in social participation to score high in alienation and vice versa, in overall agreement with the findings of most studies in the area.

Alienation and Grade Point Average--When opposition to the "establishment" is demonstrated on college campuses, one almost immediately wonders about the relationship between extent of academic achievement and degree of alienation. Quite frequently an inverse relationship is anticipated rather than the opposite. Since this study is concerned with determining the extent and direction of the relationship, the students comprising the sample were ranked according to their career achievement in college and divided into three groups of low, medium, and high grade point averages (-2, 2-2.9, and 3+, respectively). To explore the relationship, if any, between academic achievement and alienation, they were similarly ranked according to low, medium, and high alienation socres derived from their questionnaire responses, as described previously.

Cross-classification of the data revealed, not an inverse relation as anticipated, but a direct, though not significant, relationship between academic excellence and alienation. In other words, persons scoring high in alienation tended to be those with high grade point averages, whereas those scoring low in alienation tended to be those with low grade point averages.

Alienation and Sex--Inasmuch as there was a fairly even distribution of the sexes among the respondents (72 males and 81 females), it was possible to explore likely relationships between extent of alienation and sex.

Contrary to expectation, cross-classification of the data indicated a higher degree of alienation among females than among males. Proportionally, more males than females scored low in alienation (25.0 vs. 17.3%), whereas considerably more females than males (28.4% as opposed to 19.4%) had high scores in alienation. Only in the middle range scoring did the males show any tendency to exceed the females, and then by scarely more than one percentage point.

Conclusions

By way of conclusion, it is safe to assume that, at least among college students in the sample, there exists no "alienated mass." By alienated mass is meant ". . .have nots who sense themselves victims of a common fate. Its unity is based on the sharing of negative sentiments like envy and resentment."[11] However, the data does to some degree of disaffection among the students. Keniston has pointed out that "what unifies the ideology of these aleinated young men is their generalized refusal of American culture."[12] He continues by saying that "this refusal of culture goes beyond matters of philosophy and belief, and extends deep into the personal lives of these youth."[13] The authors of this paper believe that the disaffected students may be characterized by some, but not all, of the features suggested as part of the alienated outlook. More specifically, the three disaffected features are: rejection of group activities, futility of civic and political activities, and vacillation. Further emperical study will determine whether or not these tentative conclusions are valid.

Student Outlook
Low view of human nature ----
Repudiation of intimacy ----
Disaffection----Rejection of group activities----Alienation
----Futility of civic and political----
activities
Rejection of American culture----
----Vacillation----

Figure 1. Alienation/ Disaffection Outlook Model

FOOTNOTES

1. Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society, (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 6.

2. Rober J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc, 1967), pp. 108-109.

3. Walter S. Neff, Work and Human Behavior, (New York: Atherton Press, 1968), p. 32.

4. For a more complete treatment of the development of the concept of alienation see: Igor S. Kno, "The Concept of Alienation in Modern Sociology," in Peter Berger, Ed., Marxism and Sociology: Views from Eastern Europe, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp.146-167. See also: Keniston, op. cit., pp. 451-495.

5. George Lichtheim, "Alienation," in D. L. Sills, (ed), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. I, (1968), pp. 264-268.

6. For criticisms of research on conceptual schemes related to alienation see: George Simpson, "Alienation: Some Conceptual Developments in Present Day Sociology," Mens en Maatschappij, 1968, 43-44, Jul-Aug., pp. 309-330.

7. Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24, (December, 1959), pp. 783-791.

8. Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, 26, (October, 1961), pp. 753-758.

9. For a dimensional approach see: Charles M. Bonjean and Michael D. Grimes, "Bureaucracy and Alienation: A Dimensional Approach," Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, 1968, pp. 127-131.

10. Sylvia Guerrero and Gelia T. Castillo, "A Preliminary Study of Alienation," Philippine Sociological Review, 14, (April, 1966), pp. 85-92.

11. Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Collective Dynamics, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.), 1961, p. 342.

12. Keniston, op. cit., p. 70.

13. Ibid, p. 80.

A STUDY OF MUSICAL PRACTICES OF FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE FRESHMEN

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Music is one of the oldest and most important of man's arts. Most people tend to judge music by the success with which it communicates something to them, and the satisfaction that they receive from it. Irwin Stambler says that music expresses the moral and psychological tone of an age. He feels that popular music must be in tune with the current cultural pattern, and that music changes to meet the need of the times.[1]

Music in America has apparently traveled along two roads--the "Church road" and the "People's road." The Church road in America was the music of the Puritans and Pilgrims, who brought their psalm-tunes with them to America in 1629. The People's road to music in America was brought by the Negro slaves from Africa. The first Negroes arrived in America in 1619, and it is certain that they came to America singing, dancing, and drumming. The Negro was brought to America to work long hours, and the desire to sing while working was the prime reason for the growth of Afro-American folklore.[2]

Social scientists have differing opinions concerning the existence of an adolescent subculture. Such writers as James Coleman, Albert Cohen, Kingsley Davis, and Talcott Parsons believe that an adolescent subculture does exist. Frederic Elkin and William Westley disagree.[3] Hans Sebald says that it seems safe to conclude that never before has there been as massive recession of the young from the adult society into their own subsociety.[4] Many writers today feel that music is the means by which adolescents express their protest to the older generation. Leonard Feather thinks that the independence of the young writers, performers, and producers has been a key factor in the widening of the generation gap.[5] Most of the popular magazines of today have articles on protest music or the generation gap. Much research has been done on the affluence of teen-agers and the teen-age subculture, but few studies have been done concerning the musical attitudes of these young people.

A decision was made to study the musical attitudes of female high school and college freshmen. Data were collected from questionnaire responses of 100 high school freshmen from two junior high schools in Fort Worth, Texas, and 90 college freshmen in Denton, Texas. A three page legal-sized questionnaire containing 38 questions was administered to the respondents in March, April, and May of 1969. The majority of the questions were structured, but some of them were open-ended to allow the respondents to express themselves.

Sixty-six of the high school respondents were from Daggett Junior High School in Fort Worth, Texas. All of these respondents were Caucasian. Mean average age of these respondents was 14.9. All of the high school respondents from Morningside Junior High School were Negro. Mean average age of these respondents was 14.6. A majority of the respondents from both junior high schools had fathers who were blue-collar workers, but a much higher percentage of blue-collar workers was obtained in Morningside Junior High.

The 90 college freshmen were students at the Texas Woman's University in Denton, Texas. Fifty-eight of the respondents were Caucasian and 32 were Negro. The mean average age of these subjects was 18.5. Sixty-one percent of the Caucasian and 37 percent of the Negro college respondents had fathers who were white-collar workers. None of the college freshmen were music majors, but four of them were majoring in dancing.

Eighteen objectives and five hypotheses were formulated for the study. A Lyric Meaning Scale containing thirteen points was composed for using in cross-tabulating information the respondents gave concerning the importance of the words of songs. The scores were compared with the actual meanings that respondents derived from the songs in the last question of the study. The independent variables were classification of the respondents and race of the respondents. The dependent variables were the attitudes of the respondents concerning the different aspects of their musical interests. For this study a college freshman was any student who was a member of a sociology 135 or 231 class, who was classified as a freshman, and was between the ages of 13 and 19 years. A high school freshman was any female student, between the ages of 13 and 19 years, who was a member of the ninth grade. A Caucasian respondent was any respondent who reported in the study that she was "Caucasian," "W," "Latin American," "Spanish," "Mexican," "White," "Chinese," "White Anglo-Saxon," or "Caucasoid." A Negro respondent was any respondent that reported that she was "N," "Negro," "Negroid," "Afro-American," or "Black."

It was hypothesized that there would be a difference in the time spent listening to the radio and television by the respondents. High school students would say that they listen to the radio as much as they watch television, and college respondents would say that they listen to the radio more than they watch television. This hypothesis was supported, for the college respondents reported that 41 percent listened to the radio more than three hours a day, but only 12 percent watched television that much. High school respondents reported that 59 percent listened to the radio and 50 percent watched television more than three hours a day. It was interesting to compare the respondents' answers concerning their activities with those that Coleman's subjects reported in his study in 1959.[6]

Activity	Coleman's Study	This Study*	
		College	High School
1. "Being with the group"	32.5%	10%	10%
2. Hobby	20.1%	4%	5%
3. Watching television	23.6%	11%	30%
4. Listening to records or radio	31.7%	35%	34%
5. Reading (for pleasure)	35.5%	3%	7%
6. Other, e.g., telephone	9.3%	3%	13%

*Based on three hours a day or more in this study.

The results show that the college and high school respondents in this study are more homogeneous in their practices than are the high school groups in the two separate studies. The reason is probably that Coleman's study is twelve years old, and the interests and norms of the youth of today have apparently changed a great deal. Teen-agers today are the most affluent in the history of America. Many of them own their own stereos, radios, television sets, and private telephones. In this study 92 percent of the college respondents and 87 percent of the high school respondents reported that they owned their own radios. Over 85 percent of both groups said that they owned their own stereos and phonographs.

Hypothesis 2. concerned the interpretation of the lyrics of songs by the respondents. It was hypothesized that Negro respondents would reflect more defiance and rebellion in their interpretations. This hypothesis was not supported.

The respondents were given a list of five songs. They were asked to select two of them to interpret the meaning of the words. The songs chosen by the researcher were: "Hair;" "Try A Little Tenderness;" "Someday Soon;" "You're Still My Favorite Girlfriend, Alice Long;" and "Traces." John Peatman categorized themes in popular song lyrics by content analysis in 1942. He arrived at three main types: the "happy-in love" ballad; the "frustrated-in-love" song, and the "novelty" song with sex interest.[7] All of the songs selected for this study were in the "frustrated-in-love" category but "Hair", and it was in the "novelty" song with sex interest category. "Hair" and "Someday Soon" were selected to ascertain if the subjects would interpret them as protest songs.

The songs selected were not good choices to measure Negro rebellion, for the researcher did not realize that only one of these was considered a soul song by the Negro subjects. The word "soul" was introduced into the study by the Negro college respondents in Denton. The respondents were asked to rate music. An "other" category was provided, and the majority of the Negro respondents inserted soul in this space. The Negro respondents were quite cohesive in their preference of soul singers and soul music. Soul was not familiar to the researcher so research was done to study the soul culture. The Negro soul culture apparent in this study was the most interesting part.

The respondents were asked if they had a favorite radio station, and over 85 percent of both groups of respondents reported that they did. The Caucasian high school respondents chose KFJZ in Fort Worth, Texas, as their favorite. The favorite station of the Caucasian college respondents was KLIF in Dallas, Texas. KNOK, a Negro station in Fort Worth, Texas, was the favorite station of both groups of Negro respondents. KNOK employs Negro disc jockeys and plays soul music that has been recorded by Negro artists. Fifty-four of the 66 Negro respondents chose KNOK.

Thirty-three percent of the Negro college respondents chose "Try A Little Tenderness" as their first choice, and 16 percent of the high school Negroes did. The majority of the high school Negroes did not choose a song to analyze, for they did not appear to be familiar with the choices. "Try A Little Tenderness" is not a protest song. It was recorded by the late Odis Redding, a Negro artist, and the Negroes said they selected it because it had soul. It is hard to measure a variable when 53 percent of the answers are counted as "no answer."

It was hypothesized that college respondents would interpret the words of songs differently than high school respondents. It was felt that college respondents would reflect more protest to the older generation and the "establishment" than the high school respondents. This hypothesis was supported. Twenty-two percent of the college respondents voiced protest in their interpretations of songs. Only 9 percent of the high school respondents voiced protest. These subjects do not appear to be alienated from the older generation. More protest might have been found if the Negro respondents had chosen a protest-type song. They chose the soul song, "Try A Little Tenderness" much more than they chose "Hair" and "Someday Soon."

The subjects were asked to indicate their parents' perceived attitudes toward teen-age music. Since many writers believe there is a wide generation gap in America, and that parents do not understand or tolerate adolescents' music, it was believed that this question would indicate the presence of alienation in this study. Eighty percent of the college respondents and 67 percent of the high school respondents reported that their parents liked or tolerated teen-age music. Only one percent of the college respondents and 10 percent of the high school respondents reported that their parents strongly disliked their music.

Hypothesis 4. concerned the reasons respondents liked music. It was hypothesized that college students would listen to music more for the message, and high school students would listen to music more for the beat. The hypothesis was supported in the following ways:

1. A higher percentage of college students made medium-average or above on the Lyric Meaning Scale.
2. A larger percentage of college students knew the words to 12 or more songs than did high school students.
3. Of the respondents who knew the words to two songs they were given to analyze, a higher percentage were college students.
4. A higher percentage of college students said that the words were the most important thing about their favorite song.

Hypothesis 5. concerned the contrast in the favorite singing stars and songs of the respondents. It was hypothesized that Negro respondents would have a much more narrow field of choices than would the Caucasian respondents. This hypothesis was supported.

The sixty-six Negro respondents chose thirty-one different favorite songs. The 124 Caucasian respondents chose seventy different favorite songs. The Negro songs were very different from the Caucasian songs, and the Negroes chose soul songs as their favorites. The Negro respondents were much more cohesive in their choices. Favorite songs of the groups are listed below to show the difference in choices.

Favorite Songs

Caucasian respondents		Negro respondents	
Song	Frequency	Song	Frequency
"Hair"	7	"It's Your Thing"	9
"Time Of The Season"	7	"Just Because I Really Love You"	9

Caucasian respondents

Song	Frequency
"Traces"	7
"You Made Me So Happy"	6
"Aquarius"	4
"The Impossible Dream"	4
"Mr. Sun, Mr. Moon"	3
"Love Can Make You Happy"	3
"Tell It Like It Is"	2
"Mechanical World"	2
"Build Me Up, Buttercup"	2
"Galveston"	2
Theme from Romeo & Juliet	2
"Strangers In The Night"	2
"This Girl's In Love With You"	2
"Exodus"	2
"You'll Never Walk Alone"	2

Negro respondents

Song	Frequency
"Beginning Of My End"	7
"Give It Away"	6
"Choice Of Color"	3
"Run Away Child"	3
"My Whole World"	2
"The Choking Kind"	2
"I'll Try Something New"	2
"Only The Strong Survive"	2

The rest of the favorite [illegible]s of the respondents were chosen only one time. It is interesting to observe that the Caucasian choices and the Negro choices are completely different. The Negro respondents tended to choose songs that deal with problems of living in the world, and their choices were not familiar to the Caucasian respondents.

The favorite singing stars of the respondents showed this same difference between the Caucasian and Negro respondents. They do not choose the same singing stars, as the Negroes chose only Negro artists who sing soul songs.

Favorite Singing Stars

Caucasian respondents

Star or group	Frequency
Glen Campbell	13
Paul Revere and Raiders	6
Donovan	6
Beatles	5
Gary Puckett & Union Gap	5
Supremes and Temptations*	5
Beach Boys	4
Spirit	4
Tom Jones	4
Elvis Presley	3

Negro respondents

Star or group	Frequency
The Temptations*	22
Aretha Franklin*	18
Jerry Butler*	6
Supremes and the Temptations*	5
Chi-Lites*	4
5th Dimension*	2
Uniques	2
Smokie Robinson and The Miracles*	2

*Negro singer or singing group.

The Negro respondents in this study appear to have a very strong soul culture. They do not appear to be familiar with Caucasian songs or singing groups. The Caucasian respondents do not appear to be as cohesive in their choices of songs or singing groups. The youth in this study appear to be socialized into the American culture, and do not appear to be alienated from the older generation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Irwin Stambler, Encyclopedia Of Popular Music (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965) pp. xii-xiii.

2. Gilbert Chase, America's Music From The Pilgrims To The Present (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966) p. 78.

3. Hans Sebald, Adolescence, A Sociological Analysis (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968) pp. 197-198.

4. Ibid., p. 510.

5. Leonard Feather, "The Pop Music Scene," The World Book Year Book, 1968, p. 148.

6. James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961) p. 13.

7. John G. Peatman, "Radio and Popular Music," Radio Research (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944) as quoted in "Youth and Popular Music: A Study in the Sociology of Taste," American Journal of Sociology LXII (May 1957) p. 563.

DURKHEIMIAN "SOLIDARITY" REVISITED

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Virtually everyone with formal training in sociology has at least a nodding acquaintance with the twin solidarities elaborated by Emile Durkheim in *The Division of Labor in Society*. The carefully delineated argument which produced them, however, is rarely accorded more than passing attention. In a day when emphasis is rightly placed on the importance of formalizing sociological theory, it seems appropriate to reexamine that structure with a care more commensurate to that of its author. It would be particularly useful, I think, if we would examine our understanding of the term "solidarity." I will argue in what follows that 1) Durkheim uses the term equivocally, 2) that his failure to distinguish between the two senses of the term constitutes the source of some of the principal flaws in his argument, and 3) that our own failure to make the same distinction underlies the singular lack of discussion that accompanies that most troublesome of constructs, "organic solidarity."

Durkheim's philosophical and theoretical position with respect to the Hobbesian question is incorporated into his understanding of the term "solidarity." In his famous polemic with Spencer,[1] Durkheim argued that to posit the pursuit of self-interest as the foundation of social order is to posit a society built on egoism. Such a society is, by his accounting, simply inconceivable. In order to explain the phenomenon of social order it is necessary to discover the processes by means of which moral discipline is generated among men. This is precisely the task which Durkheim sets for himself in *The Division of Labor in Society*. The central hypothesis of that volume is that the division of labor is the principal source of social solidarity in modern societies. Durkheim never tires of insisting that solidarity is moral in character. The hypothesis is formulated by Durkheim on the basis of an analogy drawn to the primary group.[2] Individuals who are involved in a primary relationship which is based on mutual interdependence value that relationship as an end in itself, seek out one another's company, suffer when absence or death separates them. The social-psychological processes that spring from that state of interdependence form the basis for the "sentiments of sympathy" on which the stability of the relationship is based. By analogy, the division of labor is hypothesized to generate the moral effect which is the *sine qua non* of social order, namely the moderation of the egoism of men.

Given Durkheim's clear insistence on the moral character of social order, the assumption with which he begins his investigations comes as somewhat of a surprise.[3] He does not propose to show that specialization generates moral cohesion, for it is a "self-evident truism" that a highly divided system of functions produces solidarity. Rather, what is required is to compare the solidarity that comes from the division of labor to *other* kinds of solidarity to determine its importance relative to them. However, if by "solidarity" is meant the "moral foundations" of social order, is the truth of the truism indeed so self-evident? The social cohesion that Durkheim sees as forthcoming from the division of labor is altruistic, not egoistic at its roots. Surely the proposition that the division of labor provides the *principal* source of moral solidarity in modern societies requires a vigorous defense, not recourse to assertion. In subsequent developments, Durkheim generates hypotheses relating the division of labor to the social-psychological correlates of moral cohesion, but he never attempts to test, directly or indirectly, the fundamental relation which he proposes to exist between the division of labor and "social solidarity" considered as a moral phenomenon.

Consider for a moment the rationale which Durkheim offers to support his selection of an index. He reasons directly from his understanding of that phenomenon which he calls "solidarity." Where solidarity is strong, "it leads men strongly to one another, frequently puts them in contact, multiplies the occasions when they find themselves related." There follows a formally derived argument which can be propositionalized as follows:

1. The more solidary the members of a society, the greater the frequency of interaction between them.
2. The greater the frequency of interaction between the members of a society, the greater the number of stable relationships which will be established between them.
3. The greater the number of stable relationships established between the members of a society, the greater the number of juridical rules which regulate those relations.
4. "We can thus be certain of finding reflected in law all the essential varieties of social solidarity."[4]

This argument is as problematic as the truism just considered if the term "solidarity" has reference to moral cohesion. In both instances the possibility is suggested that Durkheim is translating the moral quality of interdependence in the primary group without modification to the larger society. If such a procedure were acceptable, it would indeed be self-evident that interdependence established by the division of labor forms a basis for moral cohesion. Likewise, the propositions that solidarity as a moral phenomenon "leads men strongly together" and "multiplies the occasions when they find themselves related" would be acceptable. A society is not, however, a primary group, and whatever the moral correlates of social order in society written large, it would in fact seem likely that they are not identical in scope and quality to moral feeling in the small group. Furthermore, it might be questioned whether "moral" solidarity as Durkheim implicitly defines that term, would support a statement such as, "The more solidary the members of a society, the greater the number of stable relations between them, and the greater the number of juridical rules which regulate those relations." Is it not precisely insofar as social relations are *not* accompanied by a strong moral basis for "altruism" that regulation is likely to be required? The concluding proposition quoted above is most surprising of all.[5] If there are several varieties of social solidarity, why, and more critically, *how* can they be discerned by means of a perusal of legal codes? Up to this point in his argument, Durkheim has provided no principles according to which "kinds" of moral solidarity might be distinguished, except those implicit in the analogy used to generate the hypothesis. Even if it could be granted that he has established a theoretical basis for the expectation that juridical rules will vary concomitantly with moral solidarity, it does not necessarily follow that law will provide substantive information regarding different "kinds," or sources of moral cohesion. In short, Durkheim's argument to this point does not withstand scrutiny if "social solidarity" is interpreted to mean "moral" cohesion, and the term "moral" cohesion is limited according to his stated premise regarding the nature of social order.

There is a second interpretation which suggests itself and that is simply that the relevant meaning of "social solidarity" has shifted from moral cohesion to "social organization. On the face of it, there is indeed nothing more self-evident than the statement that the division of labor "produces" social solidarity if by social solidarity is meant the fact of social order as enunciated in a determinate pattern of social organization. The division of labor, insofar as it functions at all, is constituted by a system of more or less ordered relations between individuals and groups that alone make it meaningful to speak of the total collection as a "whole." Viewed in this sense, the statement is simply definitional in nature. Within the confines of Durkheim's position on the nature of social order, that is, eliminating the primacy of the motive of self-interest, that is, I submit, the *only* sense in which the statement that the division of labor produces "solidarity" is self-evident. Similarly, the remainder of the argument would follow rather nicely if the object were to establish an index for the study of what I will term "structural" solidarity, that is, social order as evidenced in social organization. Thus, it would be reasonable to propose that, the greater the "structural" solidarity, the greater the frequency of interaction, and the greater the number of stable social relations. The number of stable social relations would serve, as a matter of fact, as a definition for "structural" solidarity. Making a minimum of assumptions about the social-psychological correlates of social order, it would be reasonable to assume that such relations are likely to be regulated by law and certainly by custom. Furthermore, juridical rules do provide information with respect to kinds or modes of social organization.

From this point, Durkheim's argument proceeds as follows. Since law "reproduces" the principal forms of social solidarity, he feels he need only classify the different types of law in order to discover from them the principal kinds of social solidarity. In order to measure the contribution of any one kind of solidarity to social cohesion, it will then be sufficient to "compare the number of juridical rules which express it with the total volume of law."[6] The problem remains, however, as to the proper way to classify laws so that the principal forms of solidarity will be revealed in the division. The criterion which Durkheim choses is the sanction. Differentiating between sanctions on the basis of the intention underlying their application, there are two kinds, repressive sanctions and restitutive sanctions. There are, therefore, two principal forms of social solidarity which are reflected in repressive and restitutive law. Having provided a rationale whereby the sanction is chosen to differentiate laws, Durkheim abandons any attempt to explicitly delineate the theoretical grounds on which the indices finally chosen might be hypothesized to provide observable manifestations of empirically differentiated social processes by means of which moral discipline is generated. What is of particular interest at the present juncture, however, is that in choosing the sanction to differentiate between types of laws, Durkheim chose a criterion which does have relevance to the study of solidarity considered as a moral phenomenon.[7] In a sense, Durkheim has come around full circle. First, there is the statement of certain premises and the statement of an hypothesis which identify social solidarity as a moral phenomenon; second, the choice of law as an index on the basis of propositions that make little sense if social solidarity denotes the moral correlates of social order, and which strongly suggest an organizational referent for the term; finally, the selection of a criterion for the subclassification of the index which is unambiguously consistent with the conceptualization of solidarity as a moral category. It should come as no surprise that each mode of social solidarity is eventually linked to a mode of social organization. Mechanical solidarity is identified with the undifferentiated, while organic solidarity is identified with the differentiated modes of social organization. These hypothesized relationships permit the derivation of the propositions that Durkheim submits to an empirical test. Since the importance of organic solidarity relative to mechanical solidarity should vary directly with the degree of the division of labor, Durkheim is able to derive and subsequently to support the proposition that the ratio of their respective indices will vary in a similar fashion.

I submit that we have a tendency to be unduly impressed by the fact that Durkheim generated testable propositions, and that he was able to support them with the evidence that was available to him. I say "unduly" impressed because the empirical proposition itself seems to distract us from a consideration of that which gives that test its formal significance, namely the structure of inferences on which it is based. We are, for example, more likely to make note of the fact that Durkheim was blithe in his dismissal of the significance of customary law in reflecting the relative proportions of repressive and restitutive control that we are to question the propriety of limiting the problem of social order to two modes of moral cohesion by a highly questionable series of inferences. Durkheim himself encouraged this distraction by the method of presentation which he chose to elaborate his theory. The empirical indices, restitutive and repressive law, were chosen prior to the formulation of the theory. Durkheim used an examination of repressive and restitutive codes as a touchstone from which to elaborate his theory., thereby giving the unwarranted impression that he was proceeding by means of a more or less rigorous process of induction. That he could have proceeded by another route is clear. The theoretical propositions describing the two solidarities are not dependent on the link which is drawn between them and their respective indices. The scheme presented in The Division of Labor in Socity can be seen to rest, not on inductive reasoning, but on a logically coherent paradigm relating likeness and complementarity as plausible principles of moral cohesion to two logically extreme modes of social organization: the undifferentiated and differentiated types. The two principles of moral cohesion are precisely those which Durkheim delineated in his discussion of friendship. In the theory, the attraction based on likeness finds its image in the collective conscience, or shared beliefs and sentiments; the attraction based on complementary differences finds its analogue in the interdependence created by the division of labor. Had Durkheim made the use of this analogy formally explicit in the presentation of his theory, the formal structure of his theoretical propositions and the formal significance of his test of propositions would have been exactly the same.

Parsons,[8] among others, has pointed out that in Durkheim's subsequent work he drew away from any identification of the problem of order with the problem of differentiation, and that it was the collective conscience which became the focus of his understanding of the nature of social order; mechanical and organic solidarity, as such, receded into the background. This shift was also a portent for the future of sociology, for our understanding of the nature of social order leans heavily on value consensus, and very little on the specific psychological principles which Durkheim delineated as underlying organic solidarity. The question that comes to mind, then, is why "organic solidarity" as Durkheim described it is so seldom considered to be problematic by those of us who recount and admire the effort embodied in The Division of Labor in Society. What do we have in mind when we speak of the solidarity that comes from the division of labor? I suspect that the term has intuitive appeal precisely because it is understood equivocally. The division of labor is a "source"of solidarity in the sense that it constitutes a structural arrangement binding men together in a system of ties that alone makes it meaningful to speak of the sum of those relations as a "whole." The division of labor is a source of solidarity because it brings men regularly and peacefully together. It is as simple as that. But this is not solidarity as moral cohesion, it is solidarity as structural cohesion, and it totally begs the fundamental import of the Hobbesian question. . If pressed for their understanding of how the division of labor functions to produce moral cohesion, I feel confident that most sociologists would aver that it makes possible the pursuit of interests in ways that are mutually advantageous for the participants, and for that reason provides a more or less stable basis for the value consensus that underlies the legitimation of norms. This is a far cry from the "organic solidarity" that Durkheim described for the elementary reason that it is the pursuit of interests that is given priority, and not any automatic link between interdepenoence and sentiments of moral obligation. It seems reasonable to ask, then, whether "organic solidarity" does not on analysis turn out to be an academic myth. Durkheim did not provide any compelling evidence for supposing that any such animal exists, and, beneath the words, there is ample reason to suspect that sociologists have rewritten the construct totally beyond recognition.

FOOTNOTES

1. Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (New York: The Free Press, 1964), Book I, Chapter 2 (Original French edition: 1893).

2. Ibid., pp. 54-63.

3. Ibid., pp. 63-64.

4. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

5. It should be noted that this statement does not follow logically from the three propositions that precede it.

6. Ibid., p. 68.

7. The rules of conduct which order social relations are, in Durkheim's terminology, "moral facts." The moral character of those rules is seen in the fact that they are considered obligatory, which in turn is signified by the sanctions that are visited upon those who break them. Consequently, the external visible sign by which moral facts can be studied is the sanction. Durkheim, op. cit., pp. 424-427.

8. Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 319-321 (Original edition: McGraw-Hill, 1939).

AUTHORITY IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

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The concern for authority is not new. In various writings of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, the idea of freedom was associated with authority. Proudhon wrote, "In any given society the authority of man over man varies in inverse proportion to the intellectual development of the society." This implies that if man were perfectly intelligent, authority would disappear.[1] Many writers of those times were concerned with the domination of one man with another, or the deprivation of freedom. Man in society was the important theme. Hannah Arendt said:[2]

> It is my contention that authority has vanished from the modern world, and that if we raise the question what authority is, we can no longer fall back upon authentic and undisputable experience common to all. The very term has become clouded by controversey and confusion. Little about its nature appears self-evident and comprehensible to everybody. . .and a constant, ever-widening and deepening crisis of authority is a naked fact.

From this concern with the idea of domination, force, etc., the most widely accepted use of the concept authority is that of legitimate power. Hoult's[3]Dictionary of Sociology defines authority as "A) in most works, a special form of power, either power which is a function of legitimate position, knowledge or respect; B) in some works (e.g., R. MacIver, The Web of Government; P. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society; W. Buckley), the established and legitimate right to set policy and to lead others, a conception that distinguishes sharply between authority and power."

Weber's rational-legal authority is associated with his formulation of the characteristics of a bureaucracy. It is from the rationally established rules and regulations and the hierarchy of offices or positions that authority is legitimated. Weber's concern with legitimation of authority has permeated the social sciences and was, perhaps, a result of 18th and 19th century thinkers who were so concerned with freedom.

Referring to superior-subordinate relationships, Simmel said:[4]

> The peculiar structure of authority. . .seems to come about in two different ways. A person of superior significance or strength may acquire in his more immediate or remote milieu, an overwhelming weight of his opinions, a faith, or a confidence which have the character of objectivity. . .By acting "authoritatively," the quantity of his significance is transformed into a new quality; it assumes for his environment the physical state--metaphorically speaking--of objectivity.
>
> The same result, authority, may be attained in the opposite direction. A super-individual power--state, church, school, family, or military organization--clothes a person with a reputation, a dignity, a power of ultimate decision, which would never flow from his individuality. . .In the case under discussion, authority descends upon a person from above, as it were, whereas in the case treated before, it arises from the qualities of the person himself, through a "spontaneous generation."

Hence, Simmel and Weber treat authority in much the same way. Among more recent American writers, Barnard's treatment of authority has been widely read and accepted. Barnard devotes a chapter to a theory of authority and says that:[5]

> Authority is the character of a communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or "member" of the organization as governing the action he contributes; that is, as governing or determining what he does or does not do so far as the organization is concerned. According to this definition, authority involves two aspects; first the subjective, the personal, the accepting of a communication by virtue of which it is accepted. . .Under this definition the decision as to whether an order has authority or not lies with the persons to whom it is addressed and does not reside in "persons of authority" or those who issue these orders.

To Barnard the individuals decide whether or not they will recognize an order as having authority, and in many instances authority is so ineffective that the violation of authority is accepted as a matter of course and the exercise of sanctions is not considered. Compliance depends upon a "zone of acceptance" that varies for each individual.

In an article in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Michels says that:[6]

> Authority is the capacity, innate or acquired, for exercising ascendancy over a group. It is a manifestation of power and implies obedience on the part of those subject to it.

These men, Weber, Simmel, Michels, and Barnard are, perhaps, largely responsible for modern sociological theoretical treatments of authority. Unfortunately, there have been few empirical investigations of authority in formal organizations. Weber has many followers in his treatment of authority, and his formulations are classical, but I know of no empirical studies testing hypotheses derived from his work. His analysis is consistent with and complements his description of a bureaucracy and his rational-legal typology.

Barnard, on the other hand, does not see the rational-legal bureaucratic structure as the determining factor in the legitimation of authority. Barnard's analysis is an attempt to explain what actually happens in bureaucratic organizations without reference to rationality or rules and regulations. He is not concerned explicitly with legitimation, although it is of major importance in his analysis.

In the Structure of Social Action Parsons says that, "Authority is a specific form of the exercise of power, involving the possibility of coercion.[7] Later in his Essays he defines authority as:[8]

> . . .an institutionally recognized right to influence the action of others, regardless of their immediate personal attitudes to the direction of influence. It is exercised by the incumbent of an office or other socially defined status.

Recently, Parsons has indicated that modern societies are organized on a hierarchical basis, which is one of the stages in evolutionary growth. His analysis of growth and change are largely based upon the evolutionary phenomenon of differentiation; social systems grow, move, or evolve, in the direction of a differentiated, achievement-oriented structure, which contributes to stratification. This, then, logically implies a hierarchy of statuses. Hence, there would be a hierarchy of authority.[9]

Merton, on the other hand, has revised his treatment of authority in that at one point he defines it as "the power of control which derives from an acknowledged status, inheres in the office and not in the particular person who performs the official role." Later he says that:[10]

> Empirical sociological studies of patterned differentials in knowledge about the distributions of values and norms in the group could profitably begin with the theoretical point that authority in groups does not ordinarily operate as it outwardly appears: through the issuance of orders. (He then quotes Barnard's definition.). . .In short, authority is sociologically regarded as a patterned social relationship, rather than as the attribute of an individual.

Merton thus discusses the problem much in the same way that Barnard did. Authority rests in the norms of the group and does not exist unless the members of the group accept the communications directed to them. Hence, authority is derived from the normative structure of the group.

Homans sees authority as originating in the process of exchange between two individuals. In the Human Group he said,[11] ". . .authority, the acceptance of orders, and control, obedience to norms of the group, are not different in kind from one another but are two forms of the same process." Later, in Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms,[12] he treats authority as influence; the more influence one has, the more, or as he says, the "higher" one's authority is. He calls the man with the highest authority the leader. He says influence over others is purchased at the price of allowing one's self to be influenced by others. This purchase is the basis of Homan's exchange.

Blau,[13] too, says that authority is a result of one individual's being on the negative side of the exchange ledger. He accepts the formulation that authority is a result of interaction that is determined by institutionalized patterns of behavior, or norms, but he maintains that authority is a result of one individual, or several individuals, being obligated to another. The supervisor is thus able to exercise authority over subordinates because he has obligated them to him by performing certain favors for them. Authority requires legitimation which comes from the group, or in the case of "formal authority", from the society in general in the form of legal constraints and cultural ideologies.

Dubin speaks of authority relations rather than of authority as such:[14]

> An authority relation occurs when one person makes and transmits decisions expecting that they will be accepted by another person. The other person, in turn, expects such decisions and determines his resulting conduct according to the decisions made for him.

Authority relations are necessary because of the necessity to face situations in which alternatives are possible. The decisions resolve the alternatives. (As an aside, Argyris would refer to this as the characteristic of organizations that treats individuals as infants, he would prefer that they decide the alternatives.)[15] Simon sees authority in much this same way, except that he says it is the power to make decisions which guide the actions of others, and the individual accepts authority when he permits his behavior to be guided by a decision reached by another without independently examining the merits of that decision.[16] This is Weberian in origin and smacks of power rather than authority.

In his empirical study of authority, Robert L. Peabody identified two aspects of authority, formal and functional. In making a distinction between these Peabody states:[17]

> The bases of formal authority--legitimacy, position and the sanction inherent in office--need to be distinguished from the sources of functional authority, most notably, professional competence, experience, and human relations skills, which support or compete with formal authority.

According to Peabody there are several ways in which these two aspects of authority are interrelated. He states:[18]

> In general, functional authority supports formal authority. In a given superior-subordinate relationship it is the superior's lack of functional authority or the subordinate's possession of greater competence, experience, or personal skills which tends to undermine formal authority.

Peabody attempts to bring together or show some agreement in the various treatments of authority by listing four broad categories under which the essential points of agreement can be classified. These four categories are:

1. Authority of legitimacy
2. Authority of position
3. Authority of competence, including both technical skills and experience
4. Authority of person, including leadership and human relations skills.

In his explanation of authority of legitimacy, Peabody states that both traditional authority and charismatic authority (Weber's terms) are owed to a person, the chief or charismatic leader; in the case of legal authority obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order. He then "blends in" authority of position with authority of legitimacy by stating, "But whether used in the broad or narrow sense, authority of legitimacy is inextricably fused in reality with a second source or base frequently discussed in the literature, that is authority of position."[19]

Hopkins develops the contention that the two most widely espoused views of authority today in organizational theory, the one developed by Weber and others, and that developed by Barnard and others, in fact converge. The two viewpoints are, he says, seldom utilized together; either the one or the other viewpoint is prevalent. He says:[20]

> In one, then, the outstanding elements are power, hierarchy, and legitimacy; in the other, decision making, communication, and rational self-interest. Taken together they comprise the major concepts currently used in the study of bureaucratic authority.

He then develops a composite view and refers to this formulation as the concept of authority systems. He describes this concept in four steps as follows:[21]

1. The exercise of authority consists of one person issuing a command and a second complying with it, and thus it is a form of interaction.
2. Authoritative role relations. A role relation is authoritative to the degree that it exhibits a stable distribution of commanding actions to one role and the reciprocal complying actions to the other.

3. Complex structures of authority. Ordered sets of complex relations form complex structures of authority, and the interactions within them (or, more precisely, with respect to them) constitute the operation of authority systems.
4. Legitimation. A structure of authority of this complex sort is always embedded in some kind of group, at least in part. Expressed otherwise, an authority system is only an abstracted aspect of some concrete social system.

He goes on to discuss bureaucratic systems of authority, rational legal values, formal organization, and bureaucratic structures of authority. In his discussion of formal organization and bureaucratic authority, he appears to be depending upon the characteristics of bureaucracy expounded by Weber.

It appears that a great deal has been said about authority, but no one appears to have really said what authority is. Many have mentioned that authority, whatever it is, is inherent in the position and not in the person who occupies the position. Others have said the reverse, that a person has authority, of a type, separate and apart from the position. Still there are others who maintain that in an authority relationship, the people in the relationship that are subordinate are the actual possessors of authority. To compound the problem even further, frequently, power and authority are used interchangeably. Merton has said that ". . .authority, like power, is another highly ambiguous concept."[22]

The preceding discussion has revealed that authority has been identified with social status, office, or position in a group or organization and not associated with an individual. This is the Weberian approach. This conceptualization of authority necessitates the understanding of power, coercion, or force, as these are said to be basic aspects of authority. Then, on the other hand, there is the conceptualization by Barnard and others, which places authority in the process of communication and social relationships. Neither of these can explain aspects of the other and both explain a part of the behavior in formal organizations. Weber's scheme accounts for coercion, punishment, and delegation of authority, but it does not explain that aspect of behavior which is referred to as informal. Barnard, on the other hand, explains much of the informal, but has to resort to a "zone of acceptance" with enables the individual to accept communications which are unfavorable to his welfare.

Barnard had insight into the problem of organizational theory, but, unfortunately, in my opinion, others have not pursued his theoretical interests in the organization as a whole. His formulation of authority has received considerable acceptance, as can be seen in the work of Merton, Homans, Blau, Dubin, and others who reject Weber's analysis. Common aspects of these works indicate that authority rests in the rights of members of a group, organization, or society. These rights become patterned; therefore, they become normative. Bendix[23] has illustrated the degree to which work and authority in industry depend upon the values and norms of the larger society. In fact, his analysis reveals that the rights of management and the worker are inherent in the larger cultural complex. Rights to make decisions, then, are accepted as the right of certain individuals in the group or society. These rights constitute authority.

Whether we begin at the social system level or confine analysis to the subsystem level, the right to make decisions can be identified. In the case of formal organization, the rights of some become known to all. Thus, they are obligated to exercise these rights. These rights are supported by the social system, as indicated by Bendix. Therefore, the origin and legitimation of authority are social and cultural, not rational or organizational. Parsons had indicated that the legitimation of the formal organization rests in the larger cultural complex outside the organization.[24] It is also from this larger cultural complex that the individual's basic ideas concerning his own rights and responsibilities are derived. Thus, authority is derived from this complex of values, norms, and patterns of behavior.

Basically, then, authority is a right, or series of rights, to make decisions that affect the behavior of others. These rights include sanctions. The rights themselves become manifest in social relationships. As Parsons has indicated, formal organizations depend upon the process of exchange to achieve their shared goal.[25] So, too, does authority depend upon the process of exchange. In fact, authority is an exchange relationship in which individuals contribute to their own and the group's objectives in exchange for the contributions of others.

Organizational theorists have tended to spend much of their time in developing explanations for the unexpected, non-rational aspects of behavior in organizations. Work cited elsewhere in this paper, Blau, Simon, Peabody, March and Simon, Blau and Scott, Gouldner, and others are representative of such efforts. All were undertaken within or relied upon the bureaucratic framework contained in both the Weberian tradition as well as the classical theory tradition. Adherence to this framework requires that the human variable be treated in the same manner as a machine, or engineering, variable. As Boguslaw had indicated:[26]

> The customary consequence of adhering to this (engineering) frame of reference is to conclude that human components are exasperatingly unreliable, limited, and inefficient. Furthermore, they are very difficult to control. The most obvious analogy to the physical control system involves the use of formal authority and its delegation as the energy or power source necessary to insure that the desired signals pass through the entire system. . .Human groups unfortunately (or fortunately) have devised many mechanisms for disrupting systems that exercise control exclusively or even primarily through the use of authority. . .The point to be made is simply this: The idea of control results in highly unreliable performance when applied to human components of a system.

Boguslaw distinguishes between established and emergent situations. An established situation contains elements of specificity and predictability. An emergent situation is one in which some specifiable and predictable elements do not prevail, nor can probable consequences of alternative actions be anticipated. This distinction might well be the basis for contrasting "book learning" with "experience". We might also use the distinction to assist in understanding authority in formal organizations, i.e., organizational theory has treated authority as established when, in fact, it appears to be emergent. Boguslaw also said:[27]

> To insist that social structures must always be shaped and controlled from "topside" is to reinforce maladaptive tendencies in systems and to help to insure their ultimate collapse.

From the very brief analysis it appears that efforts to define the concept of authority have been somewhat less than successful. Perhaps we have confused dependence on a system and apparent compliance with instructions with authority. Perhaps our basically monocratically oriented culture has interfered with our investigation of authority. Or, more likely perhaps, we have not been properly oriented nor methodologically capable of analyzing a complex system.

If, however, we concentrate on the study of relations rather than entities, and emphasize processes and transition probabilities, we are able to treat an organization as a flexible structure with many degrees of freedom. This approach permits us to treat authority as an emergent property, as Merton, Homans, and others imply, and also permits us to explain behavior in a formal organization. Traditional approaches to formal organizations have emphasized analysis of various parts. If we heed Ashby's[28] warning, perhaps we can understand authority and proceed to a realistic theory of organization. Ashby advises that if we approach a complex system by analysis, we have a vast number of separate parts or items of information, but we are unable to predict their interactions, nor can we ever reassemble the pieces. Hence, we must treat authority as emergent and concentrate our analysis on the social relationships within which rights are embedded.

FOOTNOTES

1. George E. G. Catlin, "Authority and its Critics," Authority, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 126.

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4. Kurt H. Wolf, trans. and ed., The Sociology of George Simmel (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 181-190.

5. Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 161-184.

6. Roberto Michels, "Authority," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), pp. 319-321.

7. Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), p. 657.

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11. George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), p. 423.

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14. Robert Dubin, The World of Work (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1958), p. 33.

15. Chris Argyris, Understanding Organizational Behavior (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1960), Chapter 1.

16. Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (2nd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), pp. 126-127.

17. Robert L. Peabody, "Perceptions of Organizational Authority: A Comparative Analysis," Administrative Science Quarterly, VI (June, 1961),p. 465.

18. Ibid., p. 466.

19. Ibid., p. 468.

20. Terence K. Hopkins, "Bureaucratic Authority: The Covergence of Weber and Barnard," in Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, ed. Amitai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 82-98.

21. Ibid., p. 83.

22. Merton, op. cit., p. 53.

23. Reinhard Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), Harper Torchbook Edition.

24. Talcott Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, I (April-June, 1956).

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26. Robert Boguslaw, The New Utopians (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), p. 33-34.

27. Ibid., p. 187.

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THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT*

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A theoretical discussion of social movements is highly desirable, especially since at this time social movements are mushrooming all over the world. Some of these so-called social movements are fly-by-night affairs and die off as suddenly as they arise. Some are incipient social movements, while some others legitimately deserve to be considered social movements. Authenic social movements continue to flourish and make an impact on society, national as well as global.

Social movements are collective efforts either to initiate a social change or to resist a change advocated by others.[1] Social movements have been classified into "general" and "specific" by Herbert Blumer (1946) and into "directed" and "undirected" by Joseph R. Gusfield.[2] While these distinctions between general and specific movemants and between "directed" and "undirected" movements are pertinent and useful, we need better descriptive terms. Would the classification of social movements into diffuse (dispersed, unorganized) and organized be more serviceable?

A diffuse social movement would be akin to what Gusfield calls the undirected phase of the social movement in which "the reshaping of perspectives, norms and values... occurs in the interaction of persons apart from a specific associational context".[3] This is similar to the phenomenon of the cult in which one may be a cultist, a believer in the ideology of the new cult without becoming a member of an association specifically organized for the purpose of propagating the teachings of the cult and winning members, card-carrying members, so to say.

The organized social movement would have officers, headquarters, rituals, rules for membership, a well defined ideology, an association or a group of associations promoting it. And some members of society, either in association or singly, are apt to be opposed to a social movement, be it organized or in a diffuse state. It is important to bear in mind that a social movemant is bound not only to elicit the loyalty of its members but also to affect the attitudes and norms and values of people not associated with the movement.

We may address ourselves to the following questions: (1) What gives rise to a social movement? (2) How does a social movement gain momentum and strength? (3) Under what conditions does a social movement continue to flourish? and (4) Under what conditions does it tend to disappear from the social scene?

First, there is a felt need for something which the existing order, the status quo, does not have. But the need, even when felt, is not enough to bring people together. The need must be transformed into an interest, into a consciously cherished aim. Two or more persons should share the interest in common and at least a few of them should be "concerned" enough to deem the accomplishment of the interest as **vital** to their very being. Need, interest, "concern" in the

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Quarker sense - this progressive psychological motivation accounts for the birth of any and every social movement.

Second, concern for the need is communicated to others with the aid of all possible techniques of communication available in the culture. Some advocates of the concern rely on moral suasion and intellectual persuasion, on truthful facts and interpretations, fully confident that all reasonable people will see the validity of the concern. Other advocates of the concern resort to intimidation and bribery, to fraud and distortion, to special pleading and theatricality. Such attempts to communicate the concern create a stir in society, an agitation. This stage is characterized by some groups in society as "educational", as "public education"; by others as "propaganda", depending upon whether they are in agreement or disagreement with the purposes of the agitation. We are all aware of the thin line separating "propaganda" from "education".

Third, agitation, launched to achieve the objective, creates a growing consciousness of the particular need in cross-sections of society, in variegated groups large or small. The interest is now shared by a larger circle of persons, each of them related to scores of different groups.

Fourth, these persons, with varying backgrounds and drawn from different groups, organize themselves into a group, a functional group or an association, to promote the achievement of the interest. Ordinarily, the original set of concerned persons becomes the nucleus and provides leadership; sometimes new leadership is provided from among the newly won converts.

Fifth, the organized group plans concerted actions and "drives" in order to win more adherents for the "cause". The interest is now definitely converted into a cause. New converts continue to support the cause. Norms and rituals begin to develop and the cause and its psycho-social complex become fairly well known to the public at large. The "ideology" of the new group is on the way to a sharp definition. If by now the cause has not been won and if the original impulse for change continues to be shared dynamically by the adherents of the cause, the stage is set for the launching of a well defined movement with a statement of its goals and methods, in short, its ideology. The movement, if it touches significant aspects of life, will divide the reflecting public into two groups - those for and those against. Woman suffrage and socialism, prohibition and anti-prohibition, pacifism and militarism are instances of movements that affect the public vitally and therefore are either praised or denounced by significant groups in society. As soon as the cause attains the status of a movement, formal membership rules are worked out and enforced, and in-group controls set in. Should it outlast a "generation" without achieving its objective, the movement would be transformed into an institution, a collective mode of response within the total social process. The trade union movement, for instance, has become a definite institution in capitalist society.

Within the institutionalized movement there arises a bureaucracy which glorifies the original interest and remains impervious to social changes which might have rendered the founding fathers' interest invalid in the present context or which might have helped achieve that interest in an oblique fashion. The best instances of rigid bureaucracy are to be found in the labor union movement - for instance, in the Musicians Union and the United Mine Workers Union. Sometimes, the bureaucracy of the institutionalized movement merely pays lip-service to the "cause" of the founding fathers and actually becomes an obstacle in the path of those who would carry on the work of the founding fathers. For apt illustrations of this process, one may study the history of reform movements within established religious traditions. Paying lip service to the reformer, members of the institutionalized reform movement often forget the reformer's original purposes. The Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) are today frightened by the very word "revolution," even though their ostensible purpose is to revere the memory of the revolutionary founders of the nation.

When rigidity, inflexibility or reaction permeates an institution and is upheld by its bureaucracy, some persons either affiliated with the movement or outside of it feel a new need for change in the status quo and the cycle is repeated. The rise of various Protestant denominations within Christendom attests to the cyclic nature of social movements.

It may be noted, first, that if the original interest did not rest on a genuine need of the people, or a segment of the people, propaganda might succeed in launching the movement; but it would not become vital in the socio-cultural context - unless, of course, the propaganda were high-powered. Second, if the interest did not call into question the fundamental categories of culture, the movement would merely enlist the loyalty of faddists and of the lunatic fringe in the population. Calendar reformers, foes of superstition concerning Friday the 13th, believers in spirit seances, etc., continue to operate as groups without much disturbance to the cultural process. Third, if the interest is realized in the stage of agitation, no social movement will be born. Fourth, if the interest is accomplished after it is organized, the movement will liquidate itself; the woman suffrage movement, for instance. And again, after the accomplishment of the interest, the movement may espouse a related cause -- the League of Women Voters, for instance, or the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Or, sometimes, the movement may just continue in existence as a social grouping without any compelling interest or binding loyalty-- just to perpetuate the memory of past achievements.[4]

The rise of Christianity as a social movement illustrates these steps most vividly.

First, Jesus felt the need for a new form of worship and a new concept of the relations between man and man and between man and God.

Second, he communicated this concern of his to all who would listen to him, and he gathered around himself twelve fishermen.

Third, after his crucifixion, the original "apostles" and a newly won adherent to the cause, namely, Saul ot Tarsus rechristened Paul, began to agitate, to broadcast Jesus' message to all and sundry, in the process courting persecution and martyrdom.

Fourth, Churches, associations of believers in the message of Jesus, began to spring up.

Fifth, the "cause" of Christianity began to be identified clearly in public thinking, and the Roman rulers began to persecute adherents to the cause of Christ.

Sixth, in the process, the ideology of the new social movement began to be defined clearly both for the enlightenment of its followers and of others.

Seventh, a vast bureaucracy came into being, with the Bishop of Rome as Pope, as Head of the new social movement, in order to glorify the life and teachings of

Jesus and the Founding Fathers.

Eighth, rumblings of discontent began to be heard as the Christian Church proscribed the slightest deviation from the interpretations put on Jesus's life and teachings by the Church bureaucracy. The more rigid became the stance of the Church bureaucracy, the more pressure was exerted by the discontented to reform the Curch and to re-interpret the life and teachings of Jesus. This pressure ultimately led to the rise of the Protestant movement within the (Roman) Catholic Church. And we have instances of 57 different varieties of Protestant denominations which grew up because of dissatisfaction with some of the interpretations of Jesus and his teachings by earlier Protestant reformers.[5]

The labor movement as well as the Civil Rights movement in this country may be profitably studied within this frame of reference.

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4. For further elaboration of this theme, see Haridas T. Muzumdar, *The Grammar of Sociology* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1967), pp. 154-158; pp. 631-634.

5. *Ibid*., pp. 633-634.

THE PRIMARY RELATIONSHIP: A FORERUNNER TO THEORY AND METHOD

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Introduction

One of the most continuously endemic characteristics of sociological theory and conceptualization is the propensity to construct dichotomous ideal-types. Such types are often regarded as forming a continuum although in themselves the types are nominal distinctions. A major contention of this paper is that the persistent conceptualization of social phenomena in terms of that schema has resulted in overemphasis of certain kinds of social relationships and unwarranted neglect of others. Specifically, we argue that sociologist have studied primary group relationships and secondary group relationships while implicitly accepting the assumption that most social relationships are actually intermediate, somewhere between these two polar types.

The common textbook distinction between primary relationships and secondary relationships represents a nominal distinction. Two discrete categories are described and relationships classified into one or the other of those categories. It should be recognized that many relationships cannot be pushed unceremoniously into one or the other of these categories. A logical solution is to consider primary relationships as a dimension rather than a single category; thereby creating an ordinal scale along which relationships vary from "primary" to "non-primary". This seems to be the approach Cooley (1909:23-27) had in mind in his original formulation. Although an ordinal measure of primary relationships is far from perfected one may conceive of a continuum along which these relationships may be ordered. Once it is possible to rank order relationships the question of the magnitude of differences between relationships must be considered. This calls for an interval measure of the degree to which a relationship is primary.

In the sociological literature the terms primary and secondary are frequently applied to groups, but this paper is concerned with the varying quality of social relationships. Given the fact that the quality of the relationship contributes to the structure of the group by influencing the interaction patterns the primary relationship is a more basic unit of analysis than is the primary group. At least since Cooley's seminal contribution in 1909, sociologists have been concerned with the nature of primary groups. According to Cooley, primary groups are characterized by "intimate face-to-face associations and cooperation", and are produced from long, intimate interaction under informal conditions (1909: 23-27). It soon became apparent that under modern conditions of transportation and communication "face-to-face" association need not be a defining characteristic. Shils, (1951:44) taking this into account as well as ensuing research efforts, has defined primary groups as groups "characterized by a high degree of solidarity, informality in the code of rules which regulate the behavior of its members, and autonomy in the creation of these rules." Note that the definitive criteria of these theoretical positions (and the research they engendered and reflect) are based in part on the quality of social relationships. Solidarity (or commitment) and informality (or intimacy) refer to the intrinsic quality of the relationships and must therefore be considered analytically separate from the structural properties of groups.

Cooley did not make the logical extension to the polar opposite of primary groups, but many others have. As Bierstedt (1963: 306) even in an introductory text states "Secondary groups, by contrast, are all those that are not primary. They constitute residual category that has no significance in and by itself." It is apparent from this and other such definitions that secondary relationships are usually defined in terms of primary relationships, therefore the focus of any investigation into this area should be on primary relationships.

Shils, (1951) has developed a typology of primary groups and he considers these groups to be the structural forms from which both formal organizations and societies are made. Primary groups, according to Shils, are the "building blocks" of complex societies, i.e., "primary groups mediate between the individual and larger organizations." The important conclusion to be drawn from Shil's work is that primary relations can exist within almost any kind of organization, or even in the absence of organization. Hence the singular importance of relationships rather than groups or organizational structure. Also, it seems clear that such relationships are typically conceived of in terms of a continuum and further, most empirically observable relationships in fact lie somewhere between the two extreme ideal-types.

This suggests that we have been remiss by studying only those relationships that are near ideal-types. Such an implication is not entirely true; sociologists have studied intermediate relationships, but have considered any relationship that was not obviously primary in nature to be secondary. This is a rather strange continuum - one type occupies one extreme point and the other includes all remaining points! Of course a more accurate conceptualization would have the ideal-types occupying both extremes of a continuum and research attention would be focused on the intervening types of relationships we can tentatively label intermediate. If intermediate positions on the continuum can be identified this would allow us to relate a wide variety of relationships into a comprehensive framework. In other words what is needed is to increase the number of nominal categories by breaking the continuum into component parts.

There are two significant variables, intimacy and commitment that both symbolize and summarize the differentiation of primary relationships. The significance of intimacy as a qualitative variable in social relations has been described by Lowenthal and Haven (1968: 20-30). Commitment is taken to refer to the degree to which one feels a general responsibility for other participants in the relationship. In this context a primary relationship is defined as one in which there is a high degree of intimacy and commitment.

In addition to these characteristics it is often noted (but rarely studied) that primary relationships are not necessarily desirable; hate or jealously might, for example, arise and persist in a primary relationship that continues to exist and continues to be primary. For it is undeniably true as Professor Merl Bonney is fond of saying "to know some people better is to like them less."

Intermediate Relationships

The tendency to study only the extremes is perhaps most directly apparent in studies of governmental bureaucracies. Sociologists have studied primary relations (Stauffer 1949) and the formal bureaucratic or secondary relationship (Janowitz, 1965) in the military. However, after an extensive review of the literature Coastes and Pellegrin conclude; "The middle of the analytical continuum does not appear to have received nearly as much emphasis, despite the fact that social relationships in military organizations tend to merge in this area...whether it is primary and Gemeinschaft depends, not on its size, but on the type of social relationships which prevail within it." (1965: 57). It his study of a federal law enforcement agency Blau (1955: 99-113) finds that informal consultation, though expressly forbidden by the rules of the bureaucracy, operates to further the aims of the formal organization. These informal relationships are not purely primary in nature, but do involve a level of intimacy and commitment greater than that expected in the non-primary relationship; that is, these relationships are clearly intermediate.

A moments reflection will reveal that this intermediate type relationship is extremely pervasive. Even this meeting is an obvious example. Between us here, particularly in the passageways and lounges, there exists some intimacy as evidenced by the first name basis of address, the easy flow of banter and opinion, and the "in-group" type of humor. Our commitment to each other is revealed directly by our attendance, for indeed, very few of us would have come to Dallas this weekend just to listen to the reading of boring papers containing half-baked notions, and concepts. However, we do not have an ideal-type primary relationship, that is, most of our relationships have a segmental basis as evidenced by the focus of our interaction being the study of problems pertaining to sociological research and theory. From this realization it is an easy step to suggest that many (perhaps most) social relationships are intermediate in nature. On a continuum of intimacy and commitment ranging from primary to non-primary we identify intermediate types based on the quality of relationships.

Although we have been unable to find any empirical studies dealing directly with the problem presented here, there is available a substantial body of research literature on peripheral matters. In the area of small group research there is an empirically exacting literature.[1] At first glance the kinds of groups studied by sociologists in this tradition might be thought of as primary groups and therefore be useful in this formulation. However, these experimentally created groups do not typically exhibit the essential characteristics of intimacy and commitment. Indeed, the primary like interactions such as social ease and emotional reactions, that occur in these artificial situations are most likely due to implicit expectations that the subject and researchers bring in to the situation (Cloyd, 1965: 398-399), or to pre-group personalities of participating individuals (Festinger and others, 1955: 290-328).

Another closely related body of literature is that which deals with voluntary associations.[2] The kinds of relationships typically found in these associations are close to the secondary-Gesellschaft end of our analytical continuum, and yet these relationships often fall somewhat short of purely segemental, nonintimate ideal-types Voluntary associations often provide such primary-like functions as giving the individual support and implementation of personal interests. Also such interest groups have by their very nature limited responsibility and commitment on the part of the members. Indeed the literature on voluntary associations provides persuasive evidence demonstrating the variability of degrees of intimacy and commitment in groups A perspective for organizing the nearly chaotic profusion of such different kinds of relationships is a major goal of this project.

The Hypothetical Typology

Typologies in social science are seldom fully testable by empirical research. Such efforts usually begin as largely conceptual reformulations without claim to empirical support. So vague are the guidelines to research in the area of primary relationships that a general overview such as this may offer several suggestions as to the direction for actual research. Clearly no single research design will bear directly on the entire typology but several possibilities appear for exploratory studies. With a view toward deliniating the intermediate types of relationships a typology can be constructed by dividing the continuum into five categories. Type I would include those relationships typically found in such groups as nuclear families, cliques, and some work and peer groups. These relationships fulfill widely divergent functions but their emphasis is on the involvement of the individual with other persons. High intimacy and commitment characterize these relationships.

Type II would include the kind of relationship found among regulars in cocktail lounges and churches. Also, extreme indeological groups and ethnic enclaves would be typical illustrations. The functions of the relationship are limited only by broad categories of human activities with the main emphasis resting upon support engendered by having other persons active in the same general area. The reason for the relationship actually represents an "excuse" for the interaction.

Type III might be characterized by men's service clubs, and by local veteran and fraternal groups. The functions are limited by specific categories of human activity but that activity is undertaken in such a way that it facilitates and is facilitated by relationships between individuals. Efficient performance of the tasks at hand is dependent upon interpersonal interdependence.

Type IV would include the kind of relationship typically found in trade unions, professional organizations or organized sports groups. The functions are specific and may be accomplished effectively without benefit of personal relationships but the manner in which the task is undertaken leads to a somewhat limited commitment among individuals.

Type V is the kind of relationship traditionally referred to as secondary and referred to here as non-primary. The functions are specific and well designed with the main emphasis on accomplishment of some goal and little concern for the interpersonal relationships that do not directly affect the task.

Preliminary Empirical Study

Data were gathered in order to illuminate a theoretical position on primary relationships and to indicate possible formats for their measurement. Questionnaires were filled out by 175 undergraduates in three Introductory Sociology courses. Respondents were asked to describe the person they felt closest to and explain why they felt close to that person. Information was collected on frequency of interaction, kind of activities engaged in, and kind of situations in which interaction took place. Using a checklist of words respondents were asked to choose words which most nearly described the way they felt about the person chosen.

In evaluating the data it proved useful to distinguish questionnaires by sex of respondent and sex of choice resulting in four categories: male choosing females, males choosing males, females choosing males, and females choosing females. An assessment of SES of respondent and of choice as indicated by fathers occupation revealed that males choosing females were more likely to choose some one of the same SES than males choosing males.

Quantifying responses to the open-ended request to describe the person chosen was facilitated by revising a scoring procedure commonly used with the Twenty Statement Test (Hartley, 1968). Although the TST is a measure of self-concept it was possible to alter the scoring procedure in such a way that it could be applied to the descriptive statements made by respondents about their choices. This application yields four modal categories of statements (Matlock, 1970): physically oriented, position-oriented interaction-oriented, and diffused. In keeping with the pattern of the conventional TST, respondents gave few diffused descriptions, however, physically oriented descriptions were more common than usually found in a normal population. Males choosing females avoided the common position-oriented responses describing their choices in physically oriented or interaction-oriented terms.

When activities were divided into "organized" and "non-organized" it was noted that all respondents named more organized activities than non-organized activities. The difference, however, was more decided with female respondents than with males respondents. There were no differences by sex of choice. Finally, from a check list of twenty-five words the three with the highest weighted scores for choices were "trust", "respect" and "affection".

Implications

Given the limited scope of the sample studied no claim can be made for a representative description of primary relationships; however, these findings suggest some tentative conclusions which may lead to a better grasp of their nature. The data on SES could be interpreted to mean that SES is more important to males of this age group when choosing a female than when choosing a male because of the greater likelihood that a primary relationship with a female might develope into a marriage relationship. The propensity to describe one's partner in a primary relationship in terms of physical characteristics is greater than that expected with the conventional usage of the TST scoring where the respondent describes himself. This difference could be an artifact of using the TST scoring procedure in a unique manner, or it may reflect a basic difference in viewpoint related to the nature of primary relationships among this age group. In the same light the more frequent references to [illegible]-organized activities may also stem from the style of life of the sample studied. In both cases comparative studies might be done on other age groups. The words most often used to describe the relationships are in keeping with the conventional designation "primary" however, the fact that only positive words were chosen whereas half the words on the checklist were negative suggests that the instrument ignores the logical possibility of primary relationships which are not enjoyable to the participants. What about your relationship with your mother-in-law?

Finally we conclude that intimacy and commitment are indeed key dimensions underlying the quality of social relationships. "Trust" and "respect", the two most frequently chosen words, obviously underscoring the importance of commitment and the third most frequently chosen word "affection" supports our contention concerning the dimension of intimacy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Representative of this literature is the volumn edited by Hare and others (1955).

2. Babchuck and Booth (1969: 31-33) provide a limited though useful review of some of this literature.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY

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Many important terms are being used uncritically and inaccurately by sociologists today. The terms considered here form a sample of the many words which cause trouble. Sociologists are saying that something is very wrong with sociology today.[1] To cure the disease of wrong terminology would be a major improvement.

It is difficult to cover a vast terminology in a short paper. Sociology should have available a complete rogue's gallery of the defective terms now infesting the literature. Much study will be needed before the situation can be remedied adequately.

Criteria are needed for examining sociology's terms. Among such criteria we may list the following:

1. Emphasize an interpersonal rather than a solitary point of view.
2. Avoid unnecessary reference to disputed opinions.
3. Emphasize the area of agreement among all schools of thought.
4. Avoid ambiguity.
5. Be explicit.

The present discussion gives only a brief account for each term. The terms are considered under three general headings.

I. Terms Which Are Ambiguous

The following terms will be discussed under this heading: anomie, behavior, bureaucracy, socialization, and system.

ANOMIE is objectionable as an unnecessary use of a foreign word; a simpler term would be inner confusion or environmental confusion or general confusion. The term anomie usually refers to both kinds of confusion: that in the personality and that in the environment. The ambiguity of the term lies in the reader's doubt as to which of the two meanings is intended.

BEHAVIOR might better be called activity. Behavior tends to imply something which is good or bad; a science needs to avoid all terms with that connotation. Also, the term behavior is ambiguous: the reader does not know whether it refers to functioning within the personality, or to interpersonal activity.

BUREAUCRACY is a term used with a variety of meanings. The specific meaning intended could be indicated by a more precise term. Sometimes it means personnel problems; or any kind of workers; or a staff organization which is bad, or good, or neither, depending upon the writer. Terms implying good and bad are of little use for a science. A better term would be structure, organization, group, staff, or personnel.

SOCIALIZATION is an overworked term that can mean anything or nothing. Precise terms to tell us what the author had in mind might be growth, maturing, or learning the cultural heritage. The term socialization sometimes is meant to imply growing up emotionally, and sometimes it is to imply learning the ways of one's culture. Authors are careful not to give a hint of which meaning is intended in each case.

SYSTEM is another overworked word; a better term would be structure. The author at one point means social structure, and at another point he means the structure of his daydreams. Writers pretend they have observed reality, when presenting no structure but that of their own dogmas. The term is too subjective and mysterious, also. The term system is useful only to refer to order, a much less confusing term.

II. Terms Which Are Too Subjective

Some of the terms named above are not only ambiguous but are also too subjective. Additional terms to be discussed in this section of the paper are: charisma, consensus, definition of the situation, empirical, greater than, identity, influence, interaction, norm, power, prejudice, scholar, and type.

CHARISMA is an unnecessary use of a foreign word; a better term would be inspiration. The foreign word is confusing, as it does not carry familiar associations. The dictionary says charisma means a miraculous divine gift: hardly a scientific concept.

CONSENSUS might be better termed agreement. The latter lends itself to objective measurement.[2] Consensus overemphasizes isolated intellectualizing rather than interpersonal relations.

DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION[3] is a term which might well be replaced by nature of the situation or understanding or describing the situation. The dictionary shows that "definition" is a solitary, intellectual act. One can define words about the situation, but that is not the same as understanding the situation.

EMPIRICAL is a term from the subject of philosophy. Observed would be a better term. As used in literature, empirical usually means the unmeasurable, the mystery of solitary experience. Sociology does not need overemphasis upon that, nor upon implied reference to controversy about empiricism as a philosophy.

GREATER THAN is an expression found on nearly every page of some books and articles, when more than would be the correct term. Psychiatrists find that neurotics want gratuitously to be "greater than" anyone else. The author who uses this term may be advertising his emotional problem.

IDENTITY might better be called individuality. Identity is a term which overemphasizes the conscious intellect, denying emotion. Fulfillment is what is sometimes meant by the term.

INFLUENCE might better be cause. Influence connotes unmeasurable aspects of the inner personality, not accessible to scientific study. Usually sociologists use the term for simple cause-and-effect relationships. Authors who overwork this term are expressing their own wish to control others.

INTERACTION is an overworked, ambiguous term. It refers to matters better indicated by such terms as relationships in society, or the active functioning of individuals and groups. Interaction is a people-denying term, escaping into discussion of imagined relations between people, rather than people directly. Often the relations discussed exist only in the hermit writer's fantasy. Sociology is about people; let's avoid escapist words.

A NORM might better be called a standard, as the latter is more measurable, objective, nonconfusing, unmysterious. "Never use an objective term if you can use a vague, subjective one" is the motto followed by many writers in sociology now.

POWER is a term used by the neurotically omnipotence-seeking[4] writer. Authority or function would be a better term, less solitary. The author who writes of power wants to have it without earning it.

PREJUDICE is a term which is sometimes used correctly, as in books on minority problems.[5] However, the term is often used incorrectly[6] to refer to an opinion which a particular sociologist does not like. Thus the sociologist is editorializing unscientifically. A better, more impartial term is disagreement or controversy or opinion.

SCHOLAR is a term best abolished in favor of the term basic researcher. Its holier-than-thou, overintellectual tone has no place in social science.

TYPE is a word which was harmless until Max Weber came along; some of his work is now obsolete. He and others[7] have distorted the term into uselessness. "Typology" is an especially vacuous and inept term. A better term is kind, or category, or classification. Some books are filled these days with supposedly profound, but naive and trite, abstractions saying only that data in nature are not all random.

III. Terms Which Have the Wrong Meaning

Some terms are errors in diction. One sociologist chooses the wrong word to say something, perhaps to get attention. Then like sheep others follow. Terms in this wrong-diction category, to be discussed here, are: affluent society, alienation, analysis, cohesion, consequences, deviance, disorganization, foundations, human ecology, mass society, mental health, rational, renewal, responses, self concept, scientific method, social change, and technology.

ALIENATION might better be called isolation. The term alienation emphasizes foreignness and nationality--an irrelevant connotation. This is true whether the term is used for the individual or the group which is withdrawn and too much apart.

AFFLUENT SOCIETY carries meanings like "Let'em eat cake if they have no bread." Society of the prosperous average would be a better term, to give recognition of the plight of the poverty-ridden minority. An exaggerating term which denies poverty has no place in sociology.

ANALYSIS might better be called discussion in most instances. Usually there is more synthesis than analysis in the material, but no contrast between the two is given. There is a stuffy unwillingness to call it a simple discussion. The sociologist wants to be pompous, mysterious, holy; so he calls his paper an analysis, befogging matters.

COHESION might better be termed unity. Social cohesion is a term emphasizing internal stickiness, whereas sociology is concerned with observable functioning of a group as a unit.

CONSEQUENCES is a term ruined by the philosophy people. They have build a vast structure of ideas about it, whereas such terms as results or effects are simple terms not involving mysterious, irrelevant disputed ideas about the whole universe.

DEVIANCE might better be called *inadequacy* or *deficiency*. The term deviance overemphasizes conformity to the average level of performance. It denies the worth of the above-average and of individual differences in a democracy.

DISORGANIZATION is a term of too negative a meaning. It serves as a collective term, but that job can be done better by such a term as *functioning* of individuals and groups, or the *problems* which arise in that functioning.

FOUNDATIONS might better be *fundamentals* or *essentials*. The term foundations is too static, low, in the dirt and the dark, not up and looking ahead. Social foundations, as this term is often used, is a misnomer.

HUMAN ECOLOGY is a long misused people-denying term. The term ecology implies that culture does not exist, since that is true in the ecology of plants and animals. A better term would be *social geography* or *sociology of the environment* or *comparative sociology*. This subject studies our cultural scene as it varies from place to place, and the relationships involved. The same objections apply to the term human habitat.

MASS SOCIETY is a term which denies the importance of the individual. The term is used with many meanings. Healthier, more precise terms would be *big society*, *interdependent society*, *unified society*, *aggregations of individuals*, or *collectivities of groups*. None of these terms violates the objectives of democracy ~~or~~ of emotional maturity. "Mass media" can be better termed *big media*.

MENTAL HEALTH might better be termed *emotional maturity*. Overemphasis upon intellect in the term mental denies the importance of the emotions. The causes of the individual's difficulty are emotional; the symptoms seen are intellectual. The emphasis upon sickness misses the point of development of the individual or group through time.

RENEWAL overemphasizes the past when we need to stress the present and future. More appropriate terms would be *function*, *creation*, *problem solving*, or *self administration*.

RATIONAL could better be called *reasonable*, *sound*, *sane*, or *logical*. This term denies the role of emotion and implies that intellect can function without emotion: a physiological impossibility.

RESPONSES could better be called *activities*. The ambiguous term responses implies that we are using an S-R bond psychology, vintage of the year 1910. That usage over-simplifies social problems, denying that there are more than two variables. Good terms for answers to test items would be *answers*, *replies*, or *statements*.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD might better be called scientific *viewpoint* or *approach*. If science is a profession then it does not operate by mechanical repetitive "methods." A profession involves the application of general theory.

SELF CONCEPT is an ambiguous term used in many ways. It overemphasizes the conscious mind and the intellect. As used in the literature it does not refer to a concept, but to *emotional development* or *emotional maturing*: sounder terms. Also, many writers have pointed out that there are two selves in the personality.[8] Which self is meant by this term, if the ambiguous term self is to be used? It is the social self or the withdrawn one?

SOCIAL CHANGE is overemphasized by sociologists. If sociology is about people, then this people-denying emphasis should be dropped. The big thing in sociology should be social problems, or problems of individuals and of organizations. Change is a barren abstraction, well suited only to the ivory-tower escapist. Change does not matter in sociology; people do.

TECHNOLOGY should be dropped in favor of the broader term, knowledge. Knowledge is a major factor in the social environment. What is remaking our world is knowledge from all subjects, no more so from engineering than from other subjects. The narrow emphasis upon technology can be replaced by the broad concept of knowledge as the tool for problem solving.

Conclusion

Other defective terms could be cited. Examples are containment, dynamics, emerging, social forces, total institution, and value.[9] Some terms which are ambiguous, or are too subjective, or have the wrong meaning, have been briefly discussed here. Controversy about such complex terms is inevitable. The opinions offered here may seem immodest, but someone should attempt the task. It need not always be said that sociologists are people who write books that no one can understand. Psychiatry shows that clear language is a sign of maturity.[10] With sane language sociology might find easier acceptance and wider use.

Footnotes

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PATTERNS OF PARENTAL SELF-CONFIDENCE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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The study of parenthood remains an underdeveloped area in sociology. It still abounds in folklore more than anything else. Mothers have been extensively studied to be sure. Fathers have received much less attention, and mother-father interaction falls even farther behind. By contrast, husband-wife relations (with emphasis on conjugal or marriage interaction) and parent-child relations have received heavy attention. But how spouses relate to one another in their roles as mother and father is a neglected subject. And yet it is quite possible that the quality of mother-father interaction in the years after children are born is a crucial factor affecting the quality of marriage. Certainly many of the troubles arising in marriage among couples in their late 20's and throughout their 30's seem to stem from differences of opinion over the handling of children.

One aspect of parenthood that has received as little attention as any is the issue of parental confidence. In the most general sense, there is reason to believe that American parents are not overly confident by historical standards. The Freudian view has had perhaps its greatest impact in this country, and Freud is almost inevitably bad news for parents. Almost anything they may do is potentially dangerous in the Freudian scheme of things, and even their best intentions may lead to disaster for the offspring. In a way, Benjamin Spock may have served as an antidote to Freud, which may help to explain his extraordinary popularity. He seems to say to parents: "Don't worry so much. Use your best judgment and the chances are that you will do the right thing. Your child needs you, and it helps if you trust yourself." Of course, he speaks mainly to mothers, although fathers occasionally dip into his book, too. Currently Ginnott has captured the fancy of American parents and he, too, seems to stress the importance of parental self-confidence along with a kind of common sense, humane approach to child rearing.

Just how self-confident are parents? What social factors are associated with patterns of parental confidence? The present study is an exploratory effort in this general area. At first we attempted to formulate several hypotheses as the basis for testing, but soon realized that research and theory in this area are too weak to generate credible hypotheses. Therefore, we collected information relating parental self-confidence to a number of standard sociological variables in an effort to see what correlations might emerge, and to determine if a general pattern is present.

Methods. The data were collected in 1966 and 1967 as part of a larger study of socialization practices of families in Omaha, Nebraska. The sampling frame consisted of all white sixth grade children listed in the school census of April 1966. 370 families from a total listing of 5,897 were selected from the census roll using a table of random numbers. Only families in which parents lived in the same household and could be interviewed simultaneously were included in the sample. 124 of the original sample could not be included because they did not meet these criteria. There were 54 refusals. In sum, 181 fathers and 181 mothers, or 54% of those originally selected, were interviewed and included in this analysis.

Interviewing was done by a team consisting of one graduate student and one upper-level undergraduate sociology student. The interviewers were intensively trained and closely supervised. Husband and wife were interviewed simultaneously, using a schedule which required about one hour to complete.

Definition of Terms. The occupational position of fathers was used to designate social class in this study. The upper class sample consisted of managerial and professional men (executives, proprietors, and professionals) following the Census Bureau categories. Men in administrative work, owners of small businesses, minor professionals, clerical, sales and technical workers, and small businessmen constituted the middle class sample. The working class consisted of skilled manual workers; semi-skilled and unskilled employees were classified as lower class.

The measure of confidence was derived from a question which asked, "Do you ever feel unsure of yourself when you deal with ----(Name of child)?" The question followed a series of hypothetical situations in which the parent was asked to make judgments about what his reaction would be to a variety of kinds of "problem behavior." If the parent answered that he/she was 'always' or 'often' unsure, he/she was classified as having low confidence. If the parent answered 'sometimes' or 'occasionally' they were classified as having 'medium confidence,' and if they answered 'never' they were categorized as 'high confidence.' The next question was "Do you think your husband/wife is ever unsure?" Similar categories were used in classifying the perception of spouse's confidence.

Findings. The parents in this sample were a reasonably confident group--but not overconfident. Considered as a whole, 58 per cent of them, about three out of five, ranked themselves medium in parental self-confidence, and a little over one-third ranked themselves high in this quality. Only 6 per cent ranked themselves low.

But the pattern for their ranking of spouses was altogether different. Clearly the parents in this sample claimed more confidence for themselves than they attributed to their spouses. Only 6 per cent ranked their spouses high, 30 per cent fewer than in the case of the spouses' self-rankings. 39 per cent ranked their spouses low in self-confidence which is 33 per cent more than ranked themselves low. Husbands were a little more likely to rank their wives low than wives were to rank husbands low, but neither sex went on record ranking the other high.

Since people often go to some lengths to make themselves appear more self-assured than they really are, one might have expected spouses to look a little more confident to one another than the data indicate. Clearly, no matter how much parents of either sex may assert that they are confident in the parental role, they do not impress their spouses in this respect. Of course another possibility is that in this particular role people do not try to act as confident as they really are, but that seems rather unlikely.

Sex and Self-confidence. Table 1 shows self-confidence rankings by sex of parent. (Tables are available from the authors on request.) It is apparent that men rank themselves high in this quality much more often than women. Although there is no differences by sex in the lowest ranking, almost twice as many men rank themselves high as women.

It is also apparent from this table that men who rank themselves high tend to rank their wives low, and those who rank themselves low rank their wives high. The pattern is not indistinct; it is crystal clear. The pattern is similar for women, except that women who rank themselves low are more likely to put their husbands in the medium category rather than the high one. In fact, although men rank themselves much higher than their wives in self-confidence, the women do not rank men higher than themselves. Both rank their spouses lower in self-confidence than themselves, but husbands maintain a greater margin between their self-conceptions and their ratings of wives. This could be interpreted to mean that men, in response to the last traces of the double sex standard, need to feel relatively more self-confident than women. Both sexes consider themselves "superior" in this regard, but men outdo women.

We find a pattern here suggesting that parents have remarkably poor agreement with one another on the question of how self-confident they are. Both husbands and wives overestimate themselves when compared to spouses' ratings, but men in particular seem to be strutting in a fool's paradise—their wives are not at all convinced.

Table 2 is a description of the relationship of various social indicators to confidence expressed in the parental role.

Social Class. It has been argued that lower class men tend to be more "power-assertive" at home because they cannot exercise authority at work. Our data do not directly examine this argument, but we might infer from the lack of difference in self-confidence by social class that this is not true for our sample. Similarly class does not differentiate levels of self-confidence for women, except that fewer working class women rated themselves "high." This differences is not pronounced, however.

Education. Educational levels do not seem to affect parental self-confidence to any marked degree.

Employment Status of Mother. Some interesting information emerges when self-confidence ratings are compared by employment status of mothers. Wives who worked full-time were clearly more self-confident than housewives or women working only part-time. None of the full-time working wives ranked themselves low in this quality. Not only were these women relatively high in self-confidence, their husbands were, too.

The general range of differences between men and women were about the same in all categories; that is, men were more self-confident than their wives whether the latter were working full-time, part-time, or not at all, and by about the same margin. But husbands of non-working wives and of those in part-time work were no more self-confident than the women who were working full-time. This is the only comparison we found where men did not rank higher than women. It does indeed suggest that attitudes of women who work full-time tend to more nearly approach the masculine level.

One could hypothesize that men will, on the average, be more self-confident than their wives, and by a rather constant margin. As the confidence level of wives goes up, the confidence level of husbands does too, so the men stay about as far in all categories.

But another way to look at these data is to hypothesize that only as men have greater self-confidence are they willing to allow, or to encourage, or to tolerate their wives' working. Even here, though, the man must perceive himself to be considerably more self-confident than his wife before she is likely to work full-time. Again, our data do not allow us to reach a definitive conclusion on this point, but they do point up an intriguing hypothesis.

Sex of Child. Finally, we examined the relationship between sex of the child and parental self-confidence. Parents of girls, both fathers and mothers, proved to be more self-confident than parents of boys. But the difference in the case of mothers was rather negligible, certainly not significant, whereas the difference for fathers was more pronounced.

The fact that the confidence of mothers is less affected by their child's sex seems to conform to most current theory about mother-father differences (Johnson, 1963). The mother tends to take a more uniform stance toward children, based perhaps on her nurturant relations with both sexes when they are small. The man takes a relatively differentiated position, being firmer with the son—and perhaps distant—and more expressive with the daughter. He may have greater confidence with his daughter because he is less demanding toward her, and also because many of the harder decisions are left to his wife. In the light of role identification theory, it is interesting to note that fathers' greater familiarity with the masculine role does not appear to increase their confidence in dealing with sons.

Family Decision-making. Table 3 shows the relationship of self-confidence patterns to parents' feelings about family decision-making. 26 per cent of the husbands say they have the final say in discipline and 18 per cent of the wives also perceive this authority pattern. This is a measure of 'real' norms of authority in the family as these relate to discipline of children. However, when asked a question designed to tap the 'ideal' norm of family authority—"Who should make the most important decisions?"—60 per cent of the husbands and 75 per cent of the wives said that the husband should play the traditional authority role. (It is interesting to note that wives are more willing to attribute this authority to men than men are to claim it for themselves—one more piece of evidence that the minority status of women is not solely the result of male domination. There is evidence here of voluntary female submission!)

Confidence, as we measured it, does not seem to be related to the husband's estimate of his own power in decision making. However, there is an unmistakable inverse relationship between the wives' self-confidence and their perception of the husbands' authority in the family—those lowest in self-confidence were almost four times as ready to attribute the real power to their husbands.

When we look at a differential analysis of the 'ideal' norm, our data indicate (as noted above) that husbands support the norm of paternalism. But if they are low in self-confidence, they are even more likely to assert that the male has the right to make the decisions—8 of 9 of those in our sample followed this pattern. We are aware that the "N" is small—but the pattern is interesting, if not convincing, nonetheless. With wives, again three out of four support the paternalism stereotype. However, there is an inverse relationship with self-confidence for them; wives highest in self-confidence give less assent to the stereotype than those ranking low, who strongly support it.

Finally, we asked parents if they agreed with the old saying: "To spare the rod will spoil the child." This afforded a clear opportunity to express the most traditional view of child discipline. An inverse relationship between confidence and reliance on physical discipline was apparent. Of the 22 parents who admitted low confidence in their parental role, 18 agreed with the proverb. The correlation was not merely evident, it was impressive.

Summary and Conclusion. Though not overconfident, parents in this sample ranked themselves fairly high in self-assurance. They did not rank their spouses high, however, and wives in particular rated their husbands much lower than the husbands rated themselves. Men generally ranked higher than women, and those that ranked themselves high were most likely to rank their wives low. Women followed a similar pattern, although it was not quite as exaggerated. Neither social class nor education was correlated with patterns of parental self-confidence. The employment status of the mother was related, however, and strikingly so. Not only were women who worked full-time likely to rate themselves high, they rated their husbands high, too. It seems quite possible that the more secure the man is in his parental role, the more he is willing to have his wife work—and the more likely she is to seek employment. Fathers with daughters were more self-confident than fathers with sons, but the sex of the child did not correlate with mothers' self-confidence. Generally speaking, both mothers and fathers believed that fathers should make the most important decisions in the family, but this was particularly true of those who ranked low in parental self-confidence. Two conclusions stand out: One is that husbands and wives are in such surprising disagreement with one another in their ratings of self and spouse. The other is that equalitarian and non-stereotyped values are associated with parental self-confidence.

FOOTNOTE

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FAMILIAL ROLES AND DIRECTION OF AGGRESSION

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Previous studies[1] suggest that the roles of parents have an effect on the direction of aggression of the individual when frustrated. These studies suggest that authority and mildness (affection) are the parts of the parental roles which relate directly to direction of aggression in children.

In relation to the theory of Parsons and Bales, the authority component is part of the "instrumental" role which the father plays and affection is a part of the "expressive" role of the mother.[2] Zelditch, attempting to operationalize Parsons and Bales' "instrumental" and "expressive" roles, says that the one who fills the instrumental role acts as the "final court of appeals, final judge and executor of punishment, discipline and control over the children of the family." Further, the one who fills the expressive role is described as the "mediator, conciliator, soothes over disputes, resolves hostilities in the family and is affectionate, solicitous, warm and emotional to the children of the family."[3]

Using Zelditch's operational definitions as a guide, Robertson developed instrumentality and expressiveness scales and, using these scales as a basis, classified the family situation as either having a target for aggression present or not present. If only one or neither parent was perceived as playing the expressive role, the family situation was classified as target present. The family situation was considered as having no target present when both parents were perceived as expressive.

In the target present situation, Robertson found that only children showed an anger-out physiological reaction (increase in salivary pH) when stressed. An anger-in or anxiety response (decrease in salivary pH) was found for only children who perceived no target present in the family situation. These relationships were not found for those individuals with siblings.[4]

Robertson's failure to find the relationship between parental target categories and direction of aggression for children with siblings suggests the necessity of including the sibling's role in the family situation.

Krout states that "the sibling is not a silent witness of the drama in which parents and another child participates."[5] Further, each child in the family faces a different situation and therefore it would appear reasonable that he would go through a somewhat different socialization process. In relation to this, Adler points out that

> ... the psychological situation for each child is individual and differs from that of others, because of the order of their succession... It is not, of course, the child's number in the order of successive births which influences his character, but the situation into which he is born and they way he interprets it.[6]

These statements suggest that the presence of siblings and the interaction with siblings may have different effects on the different children within the same family. It appears feasible that siblings could serve as "substitute parents" in the sense of non-expressive siblings serving as targets for the child's anger. This would be comparable to what the Freudians call the "Cain complex" in that it provides an outlet for anger impulses originally directed toward the parents but displaced on a sibling. If a non-expressive sibling can serve as a target for anger, it would follow that a sibling perceived as expressive can not be a target.

In order to test this explanation, the role of the siblings was included in the categories of target present and target not present. The same rationale was used for placing siblings into the target categories that was used for parents. If the siblings were perceived as expressive, they were placed in the target not present category because the subject is unable to direct aggression toward them without the possible loss of love. All of the siblings were combined under the assumption that just one sibling toward whom the subject could direct his aggression would be sufficient to define the subject as having a target for aggression.

The following hypotheses were tested:

I. When frustrated, a subject's initial reaction will be anger-out if there is a parental target present. Contriwise, when frustrated, a subject's initial reaction will be anger-in or anxiety if there is no parental target present.

II. When frustrated, a subject's initial reaction will be anger-out if there is a familial target present. Contriwise, when frustrated, a subject's initial reaction will be anger-in or anxiety if there is no familial target present.

The data necessary for testing the hypotheses was obtained from 420 students in a small church-related high school and junior college. This population was felt to be a more homogeneous sample than the general population and, thus, limited one source of variation in the variable being studied because a large majority of the subjects held the same religious views. Also, it was essential for the study design that the subjects live in dormitories and have roommates who could appraise their reaction to frustrating stress situations.

The independent variable, target and non-target categories of parental and familial roles, ~~was~~ defined by the instrumental and expressive scales of parents and siblings. The scales for parental instrumentality and expressiveness were developed by Robertson to measure the facets of the roles described by Parsons, Bales and Zelditch. The sibling expressiveness scale was an adpatation of the parental expressiveness scale. Since the distribution of the independent variables are unknown for the general population, normality was assumed. Therefore, the five scales, father's instrumentality, father's expressiveness, mother's instrumentality, mother's expressiveness and sibling's expressiveness, were divided into high and low categories at their medians. The dichotomized scales were then combined to form the parental and familial target and non-target categories required to test the hypotheses.

The dependent variable, subject's direction of aggression, was obtained by getting roommate's appraisal of whether the subject showed anger-out, anger-in or anxiety behavior when frustrated. The anger-in and anxiety categories were combined in the analysis, since the physiological responses to both are basically the same.

The data testing the null hypothesis that the relationship between subject's perception of parental target categories and appraised direction of aggression can be attributed to chance are shown in Table 1. The hypothesis of no association was accepted ($p > .05$). Although the relationship failed to reach statistical significance and the Q is very weak (.06), the direction is as hypothesized. Thus, one may entertain the possibility that the parental roles do play a very small part in explaining the direction of aggression.

Previously discussed theory indicated that the birth order of the subject might have an affect on the relationship because of the presence or absence of siblings. Specifically, the relationship should be stronger for the only child since this represents the pure case described by Parsons and Bales. The partial

Table 1. Perception of Parental Target Categories and Subject's Direction of Aggression

Direction of Aggression	Target	Non-target
Anger-out	66(28.0)*	38(25.5)
Anger-in and Anxiety	170(72.0)	111(74.5)

$x^2=.281$, d.f.=1, $p>.50$, Q=+.06. *Numbers in parenthesis are percentages.

relationships between perception of parental target categories and appraised direction of aggression with birth order held constant are presented in Table 2. Again the null hypothesis of no relationship can not be rejected ($p>.05$). It should be noted, however, that the strength of the relationship increases dramatically for the pure case of only child - Q=.61 in the partial compared to Q=.06 for the original. Also, there is a small increase in the strength of the relationship of the last child. Thus the conditions of only child and the last child specify the relationship between parental target categories and subject's direction of aggression.

Table 2. Perception of Parental Target Categories and Subject's Direction of Aggression with Birth Order held Constant

Direction of	Only		First		Middle		Last	
Aggression	Target	N-target	Target	N-target	Target	N-target	Target	N-target
Anger-out	7(64)	3(30)	21(28)	11(28)	19(20)	14(23)	19(35)	10(27)
A-in & Anx.	4(36)	7(70)	55(72)	29(72)	75(80)	48(77)	36(65)	27(73)

Only: Fisher's Exact p=.13, Q=.61

First: $x^2=.00$, d.f.=1, $p>.99$, Q=.00

Middle: $x^2=.124$, d.f.=1, $p>.70$, Q=-.07

Last: $x^2=.577$, d.f.=1, $p>.30$, Q=.18

Table 3 presents the data to test the second hypothesis concerning the combined parental and sibling (familial) target categories and direction of aggression. The null hypothesis that the relationship between subject's perception of familial target categories and appraised direction of aggression can be attributed to chance was accepted ($p>.05$). Realizing that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, it should be noted, however, that addition of the sibling roles increases the strength of the relationship as measured by Q from .06 to .16. This increase occurs in spite of the exclusion of the only children which showed such a strong relationship when just parental roles were combined.

Table 3. Perception of Familial Target Categories and Subject's Direction of Aggression

Direction of Aggression	Target	Non-target
Anger-out	81(28.8)	21(22.6)
Anger-in and Anxiety	200(71.2)	72(77.4)

$x^2=1.372$, d.f. = 1, $p>.20$, Q = .16

Based on the finding that birth order specified the original relationship for parental target categories, birth order was held constant to determine its affect on the relationship between familial target categories and the subject's direction of aggression. Drawing on the findings for parental target categories, it was predicted that the relationship would become stronger for the last child and weaker for first and middle children. The partial relationships are shown in Table 4. The null hypothesis was accepted ($p>.05$) for all three birth order groupings. As predicted the partial relationship for the last child grouping was stronger than the original and the other two partials. Contrary to expectation, however, the direction of the relationship for first children was reversed.

Table 4. Perception of Familial Target Categories and Subject's Direction of Aggression with Birth Order held Constant

Direction of	First		Middle		Last	
Aggression	Target	Non-target	Target	Non-target	Target	Non-target
Anger-out	23(26.1)	9(32.1)	26(22.8)	7(16.7)	24(35.8)	5(21.7)
A-in & Anx.	65(73.9)	19(67.9)	88(77.2)	35(83.3)	43(64.2)	18(78.3)

First: $x^2 = .386$, d.f. = 1, $p > .50$, $Q = -.14$ Middle: $x^2 = .691$, d.f.=1, $p > .30$, $Q = .19$
Last: $x^2 = 1.554$, d.f. = 1, $p > .20$, $Q = .34$

In view of the unanticipated reversal of direction for the first child, the following possible explanation can be advanced. Older children are generally taught that it is not "right" or "fair" for them to "pick on" or fight with their younger siblings. Because of this training, the older siblings have only the parents as "legitimate" targets toward whom they can express their aggression, although they may perceive younger siblings as non-expressive and theoretically targets for aggression. Thus, according to the classification used in this study, the non-expressive sibling is considered a target but, because of the age and training factors, the younger sibling may not be a "legitimate" target for aggression for the older child. Following this line of thought, the last child has the parents and all siblings as possible targets if so perceived. The middle child is the intermediate case with some siblings older and, thus, "legitimate" targets if so perceived and others younger who may not serve as targets, even if so perceived.

If this explanation is plausible, the same pattern which appeared in the partial relationships of familial target categories and direction of aggression with birth order held constant should appear in the partials of sibling target categories and direction of aggression with birth order held constant. Since the only measure of sibling roles obtained was the expressiveness measure, those subjects who perceived all siblings as expressive were placed in the non-target category and all subjects who perceived at least one sibling as non-expressive were placed in the target category.

It was predicted that those subjects who perceived a sibling target would be appraised as showing anger-out responses when frustrated, while subjects who did not perceive a sibling target would be appraised as showing anger-in or anxiety responses when frustrated. Table 5 shows the results of this cross-tabulation. The null hypothesis of no relation between variables was accepted ($.05 < p < .10$). However, as was the case for familial target categories and direction of aggression, the direction of the relationship was as predicted.

Table 5. Perception of Sibling Target Categories and Subject's Direction of Aggression

Direction of Aggression	Target	Non-target
Anger-out	55(29.7)	38(21.6)
Anger-in and Anxiety	130(70.3)	138(78.4)

$x^2 = 3.122$, d.f. = 1, $.10 > p > .05$, $Q = .21$

If, as suggested, it was the sibling role and not the parental roles which was responsible for the specifying conditions of first and last children, the same pattern which appeared in the partial relationships for familial target categories and direction of aggression with birth order held constant should appear in the partials of sibling target categories and direction of aggression with birth order held constant. These data are presented in Table 6. Testing the null hypothesis that the association was due to chance, the null hypothesis was accepted ($p > .05$) for first and middle children partials. However, the null hypothesis was rejected ($p < .01$) for the last child. Examining the birth order partials of sibling target categories and direction of aggression further, the predicted pattern was found. Specifically, the partial relationship for first children reversed the direction of the original relationship, while the middle child partial held the same direction and only slightly decreased in strength. The partial for the last child not only held the same direction as the original but became much stronger ($Q = .62$) and reached statistical significance at the .01 level. Thus, it appears that the presence of the sibling roles was responsible for the specifying conditions of first and last children for familial roles.

Table 6. Perception of Sibling Target Categories and Subject's Direction of Aggression with Birth Order held Constant

Direction of	First		Middle		Last	
Aggression	Target	Non-target	Target	Non-target	Target	Non-target
Anger-out	16(26.6)	16(30.2)	18(22.0)	13(17.6)	21(48.8)	9(18.4)
A-in & Anx.	44(73.4)	37(69.8)	64(78.0)	61(82.4)	22(51.2)	40(81.6)

First: $x^2 = .172$, d.f.=1, $p > .50$, $Q = -.09$ Middle: $x^2 = .473$, d.f.=1, $p > .30$, $Q = .14$

Last: $x^2 = 9.86$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$, $Q = .62$.

In conclusion, neither of the hypothesized relationships were statistically significant. It should be noted that the direction of the relationship was as predicted although weak and the addition of the sibling roles to the parental roles for target classification did increase the strength of the relationship. Further, in the two ideal cases, only child with parental roles and last child with familial roles the relationship increased drastically. It would appear that further refinement of the roles of siblings taking into consideration the factors of age and sex of the siblings would increase the relationship.

FOOTNOTES

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LEVEL OF ASPIRATION: ITS FAMILIAL DETERMINANTS*

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The concept of 'level of aspiration' has been a consistently important area of study for many decades. Lewin and his students introduced the German term, Anspruchsniveau, into research literature in the late 1920's. It was later translated into English as level of aspiration. (1) Since that time the term has become a common linguistic denominator of a large number of disciplines. Deutsch states, "Perhaps no other area of research that Lewin and his students have opened to experimental investigation has been the subject of so many studies as the level of aspiration." (2) Past studies, to cite a few, indicate the importance of such factors as peer group association, social class, place of residence, learning skills, intelligent "quotients," size of family, number and order of siblings, aptitude tests, and parental expectations. (3) Underlying such studies is the important influence of the family milieu, with either its social-psychological properties, such as value orientations or structural characteristics, such as social class on educational aspirations and achievements. The link between the social-psychological properties and the structural characterists is ultimately emphasized. For example, Lipset noted that residence is related to the level of occupational aspiration. Rural migrants were much less likely to enter higher occupational strata than people who were reared in the city. (4) Sewell studied the relationship between measured intelligence and college plans. Students were divided into three groups on the basis of their measured intelligence. The highest intelligence score group was twice as likely to aspire to college attendance as those in the middle score group, and over four times as likely to plan on college as those in the lowest intelligence score group. (5) Empey noted the positive effect of social class level on level of anticipated occupation for high school seniors. (6) However, when evaluating various factors relating achievement motivation to ability based on thematic apperception test (TAT) in a sample of eighty-four middle class boys, Elder found that achievement was not associated with IQ, achievement imagery, or occupational interests. In the low ability group, achievement drive did predict occupational success. (7) A study by Pihlblad and Gregory indicates the importance of social factors in level of aspiration and ultimately to occupational choice. They conclude that background influences are about twice as important as intelligence in the selection of occupations. (8) Therefore, there is a need to recognize the specific variables within the family which promote or hinder educational aspiration and achievement, regardless of the structural characteristics of the unit.

Objectives and Methodology

The purpose of this study is to examine the familial determinants of level of educational aspiration and performance. Specifically, the research sought to answer two questions. First, what are the effects of intra-family relationships on the student's level of academic performance. Second, what are the effects of intra-family relationships on the student's level of educational aspiration?

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The six senior high schools of Logan County, Oklahoma were utilized as the population. The sole urban center of the county has a population of 9,500 (1960 Census). One of the towns where a high school is located has less than 1,500 population and the remaining towns less than 500 residents. The median income is $3,700 with 40 per cent of the total families with less than $3,000 income and 4 per cent with income of $10,000 and over. All tenth, eleventh and twelfth grade students attending school on a regular class period during the 1967 winter term were given a pretested 240-item questionnaire of which thirty-eight items are utilized in this paper. The student questionnaire was administered by prescribed teachers or counselors in each school during the same week. Parental questionnaires were mailed to the father and the mother of the student on the same day he completed his questionnaire. Each student was asked to bring his parents' completed questionnaires back in a sealed envelope which was furnished with the questionnaires. Those students who brought their parents' completed questionnaires back to school within the allotted time of one week were paid fifty cents each. The data were transferred to IBM cards and machine-processed on an IBM 7040 computer.

The basic research instrument comprised a three-part questionnaire separately administered to each student and his parents. Data used to analyze the intra- intra-family relationships on the student questionnaire were obtained from the responses to the following scales: parental activity, parental help with problems, rating of parent-child love, rating of parent-child roles, mood of the family, rating of discipline and role conformity. The "parental activity" scale measured responses to the statement, "Please indicate those activities in the following list which you do with your mother and/or your father." Numbers one through twenty-one were assigned to the eleven items to allow a measurement of the activities. The item number was recorded each time it was chosen. The response frequency of the items was charted and ranked to give a total number of items chosen for each questionnaire. This aggregate score served as an index of "parental activity." The "help" scale measured data from the twelve response choices to the question, "In the following kinds of problems, how much help do you get from your parents?" The response choices are: none, a little, average amount, considerable amount, a great deal. These formed a five point frequency continuum which was treated as an accumulative score to provide an index of parental "help." The four item "love" scale was used with five response choices for each item. The questions, "Which of the following best describes your love for your parents?" and "How much love do you think your parents have for you?" sought to determine the perception of family love relationships. The response choices were: weak, not very strong, strong, very strong, unlimited. This five point quality continuum allowed responses to the quality of love the student had for his parents and the quality of love that he perceived his parents had for him. The eight item "role" scale was used with five response choices for each item. The response choices was assigned values of "0" to "4" and the aggregate score served as an index of family "roles". The five point frequency continuum score of the four mood items was treated accumulatively to provide an index of the mood rating of the family. The eight item "discipline" scale included five and six response choices to items relating to the parental reaction to the student's behavior. The continuum measured the vigor of response and formed an accumulative score on discipline. The three item "conformity" scale was used with five response choices on a frequency continuum.

Data used to analyze the academic performance variable were obtained from the level of academic performance (A, B, C, D/F) of the student recorded in the school office for the last two academic semesters. The level of educational aspiration variable referred to the levels of education to which the students and parents aspired. The levels were: get a job now, graduate from high school, complete college, get a professional degree. The father and mother questionnaires were modified froms of the student questionnaire to allow a three-way analysis of response items. Only the three hundred twenty-two completed sets of student, father and mother questionnaires are utilized in this paper.

Findings and Discussion

As noted in Table I, six of the seven intra-family relationships have significant effects on the student's level of academic performance. Academic performance is affected by parental activity (H = 17.83, p = .001), rating of parent-child roles (H = 19.78, p = .001), role conformity (H = 12.42, p = .01), rating of parent-child love (H = 7.74, p = .05), mood of the family (H = 6.25, p = .05), and the rating of discipline (H = 8.34, p = .05). It is interesting to note that parental help with problems, such as personal and school problems and making decisions is the only intra-family relationship that does not significantly affect the student's level of academic performance (H = 5.61, p = .15).

TABLE I

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND LEVEL OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE*

Aspects of Intra-Family Relationships	df = 3 H	n = 322 p
Parental Activity	17.83	.001
Parental Help With Problems	5.61	.15
Rating of Parent-Child Love	7.74	.05
Rating of Parent-Child Roles	19.78	.001
Mood of Family	6.25	.05
Rating of Discipline	8.34	.05
Role Conformity	12.42	.01

* Kruskal-Wallis Ranks Test

Table II indicates that six of the seven intra-family relationships have significant effects on the student's level of educational aspiration. It is affected by parental activity (H = 27.24, p = .001), rating of discipline (H = 20.05, p = .001), parental help with problems (H = 15.38, p = .01), rating of parent-child roles (H = 11.27, p = .025), mood of the family (H = 9.85, p = .05) and role conformity (H = 8.24, p = .05). The rating of parent-child love does not significantly affect the student's level of educational aspiration (H = 5.03, p = .28).

TABLE II

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION*

Aspects of Intra-Family Relationships	df = 4 H	n = 322 p
Parental Activity	27.24	.001
Parental Help with Problems	15.38	.01
Rating of Parent-Child Love	5.03	.28
Rating of Parent-Child Roles	11.27	.025
Rating of Mood of Family	9.85	.05
Rating of Discipline	20.05	.001
Role Conformity	8.24	.05

* Kruskal-Wallis Ranks Test

The intra-family relationship of help with personal and school problems is not significantly exerted by the family unit for academic performance, but it is instrumental in promoting level of educational aspiration. Likewise, the perceived love existing in the family unit is instrumental in motivating academic performance, but not level of educational aspiration. On the basis of this research it can be noted that positive and favorable family relationships exert positive influence on the student's level of educational aspiration and his orientation toward school. The family situation may be defined as exerting a powerful stimulus for the child's school and post-school performance. The quantity and quality of school performance is primarily fashioned within the home and to a great extent reflects the domestic setting. Further research is necessary to provide a comprehensive picture of familial determinants of level of aspiration, particularily controlling for such variables as aptitude, social class, post-high school achievement and intelligence. These factors are worthy of in-depth investigation.

FOOTNOTES

1. John W. Gardner, "The Use of the Term 'Level of Aspiration'," Psychological Review 47 (1940) p. 59.

2. M. Deutsch, "Field Theory in Social Psychology", Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. G. Lindzey (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954) p. 208.

3. There is a vast literature in this area. For important references, see William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Projections of Youth: I and II, Departmental Information Report No. 67-10, 67-11 College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University, 1967.

4. Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization", Rural Sociology 20 (September 1955) pp. 220-228.

5. William H. Sewell, "Community of Residence and College Plans", American Sociological Review 29 (1964) pp. 67-73.

6. LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement", American Sociological Review 21 (1956) pp. 703-709.

7. Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Achievement Motivation and Intelligence in Occupational Mobility: A Longitudinal Analysis" Sociometry 31 (December 1968) pp. 327-354.

8. C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "The Role of Test Intelligence and Occupational Background as Factors in Occupational Choice", Sociometry 19 (September 1956) pp. 192-199.

ORIENTATIONS OF MARRIED PAIRS TO FOUR DIMENSIONS OF SOCIOCULTURAL TIME

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In this paper four dimensions of sociocultural time are defined: tempo, rhythm, chronological time, and temporal horizon. A semi-structured questionnaire designed to examine attitudes and beliefs as indicators of temporal orientations toward these dimensions was administered to a sample of fifty middle-class married pairs.

Underlying the study is the assumption that organized, meaningful social interaction between individuals or groups depends upon congruent definitions of the situation on the part of those involved in the interaction. Basic components of the situational definition are the time and space loci or frames of reference in which it takes place. Generally taken for granted as "routine grounds of every day activities," these time and space components prove upon investigation to be important sources of misunderstanding and confusion because they are not sense-derived absolutes, but rather are relative phenomena derived from social reference systems. The focus of this study is upon the sociocultural aspect of the temporal component as opposed to the psychological perception of time. Psychological time can be considered analogous to Newton's absolute time--it is local time or individual time in which succession and duration are organized into a series as "one system of reference whose different parts are static in relation to one another," (1) while sociocultural time is relative and comprises a number of reference systems at any given analytical level--group, subcultural or societal. Temporally- based incongruent situation definitions come about because, as Fraisse observes, "When there are various systems of reference which move in relation to one another, there is no common time," and as Sorokin pointed out two social systems may or may not have a common sociocultural time, depending upon whether or not they share common sociocultural phenomena.

The properties Sorokin has described for sociocultural time can be correlated with at least four time dimensions toward each of which different time orientations are possible. The four dimensions and the relevant sociocultural time properties are described below as tempo, rhythm, standardized time, and temporal horizon. Similar orientations toward these dimensions among group members operate to synchronize and coordinate interaction.

Sorokin says the "fundamental trait of sociocultural time is that it does not flow evenly in the same group and in different societies."[1] This phenomenon of tempo--of "different beats" of social time results from varying ratios of activity per unit of time. At the psychological level tempo refers to the speed with which any behavioral activity takes place, but at the sociological level it is a measure of the rate of change from one social state to another. Subjective assessments of the flow of time indicate tempo orientations. Time may be "running out," too short, too crowded; or, on the other hand, it may be standing still, too empty, too long.

A second characteristic of sociocultural time is that the moments "are uneven;" it does not flow uniformly, but has eventful and critical moments and moments or stretches of empty duration. Rhythm, then, is the division of time into "various [recurring] qualitative links of different value."[2] Various socially derived periods mark rhythmic patterns:

> . . . our life was a weekly rhythm. More than that: within a week, the days have a different physiognomy, structure and tempo of activities. Sunday especially stands alone, being quite different from the weekdays as regards to activities, occupations, sleep, recreation, meals, social enjoyments, dress, reading, even radio programs and newspapers.[3]

The month, the seasons, and the year are also cited by Sorokin as sociocultural units, each with its own rhythm for any given group or society. Time budget studies have long confirmed the existence of these rhythmic patterns.[4] Such studies of the quantitative allocation of time to various activities do not tap the orientation or meaning level of the rhythm dimension. This was pointed out by Sorokin and Berger in their early time budget study.[5] Some measure of feeling tone, in addition to knowledge of overt activity, is implied in the words "qualitative" and "value" in the definition of rhythm.

In general, however, as the period of time taken into account increases beyond the period of a year, the cyclic characteristic found in rhythm tends to disappear and the problem of orienting oneself in the indefinite sequence of years arises. According to Sorokin it is characteristic of sociocultural time that it "conceives and measures sociocultural phenomena--their duration, synchronicity, sequence, and change--in terms of other sociocultural phenomena taken for the point of reference."[6] Through memory individuals are able to locate themselves in time, and usually, the bench-marks of memory are social phenomena:

> How do we find our place on this infinite time-bridge? Through natural signs? Not at all. We orient ourselves through reference to this or that important or conspicuous social event . . .This means that our long "cut-outs" of time are purely social and have only social buoys for our orientation. Possibly for this reason, the eras of different people are different.[7]

Memory comprises the past perspective of what is designated in this study as the temporal horizon. The present is "that which is contemporaneous with present activity."[8] Its boundaries vary according to the scope of the activities under consideration. The "present" of a meal is quite different from the "present" of an illness or a love affair. The future is a conceptualization of the outcome of one's present activity in relation to the past. As Fraisse puts it, "Generally speaking, the future only unfolds insofar as we imagine a future which seems to us to be realizable."[9] Temporal horizon then is the habitual time frame of reference within which activity is ordered. Variation in temporal horizon orientation can occur in two major ways: the relative emphasis placed on the past, present, or future; and in the span or length of time taken as a context for social life.

It was stated above that sociocultural time measures sociocultural phenomena in terms of other such phenomena as points of reference. A special case of this characteristic yields a fourth time dimension: standardized time. Standardized time measures sociocultural phenomena in terms of only one common sociocultural reference point, the clock. Although standardized time is intrinsically a quantitative and physicomathematical standard, it has qualitative aspects which bring it into consideration as a sociocultural time dimension. In a sense, standardized time runs parallel with the more qualitative time dimensions, and orientations vary with respect to the relative emphasis placed on this universal quantitative dimension. The extent to which daily activities are organized in terms of exacting appointments and schedules would be an indication of the importance of the standardized time dimension.

These four dimensions of sociocultural time--tempo, rhythm, temporal horizon, and standardized time--are the "understood" common temporal grounds for everyday activities, functioning to synchronize those activities in group life.

A closely structured, attitude scale type of questionnaire was thought to be inappropriate for this study. Such an instrument would be premature in view of the limited amount of information available at the present time. Moreover, it was felt that a rigid format, as opposed to a flexible one, would not be as likely to elicit responses at the phenomenological level.

The instrument as finally developed attempts to make background features of everyday life, in this case, the dimensions of sociocultural time, visible to the respondent to the extent that he can say something about his orientation toward them. It consists of three sections. The first one concerns rhythm and tempo dimensions of sociocultural time and is structured to facilitate the comparison of answers for pairs. The second part explores temporal horizons and is semi-structured. The format is designed to focus the attention of respondents on three major sources of temporal horizons, husband's occupation, family, and the "larger world," but is open enough to allow respondents to construct their own horizons within these broad limits. The final section is an open-end question which taps orientations toward standardized time. These sections are described in more detail below.

The literature suggests that temporal orientations are derived largely from memberships in collectivities. Although husbands and wives have a common family membership, the husbands in this study are also members of the occupational world, while the wives are not. In addition, husbands and wives are de facto members of their own sex subcultures. These different memberships led to hypotheses that differing patterns of orientation in married pairs exist for each of the four time dimensions.

Thirty-three of the fifty couples stated that men and women had different feelings about time because they had separate lives to lead. This, coupled with the fact that male pairs often showed more consensus than married pairs, suggests a parallel, rather than interaction pattern of marriage for this sample.[10] That is, these couples appear to have segregated roles and be more traditional in their family patterns than is generally thought to be true of modern middle-class families.

The hypothesis that different tempo patterns would be observable within married pairs is accepted. Husbands have faster orientations than their wives. Wives are predominantly static in orientation.

The hypothesis that different patterns of rhythm orientations exist for spouses toward time of day, day of the week, season, and life stage is partially accepted. Thirty-five of the couples agreed on at least one of the rhythm units, ranking the items in it in the same manner. Of these thirty-five, twenty-four show similar preferences for life stages. Means preferences of ranks reveal that within the time of day, days of the week, and stages of life there are patterns of differences. For time of day wives prefer night, morning, and afternoon in that order. Husbands give the first three places to morning, evening, and night. Both rank late night fifth.

Days of the week were ranked by husbands in the following order: Saturday, Sunday, Friday, Thursday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Monday. Wives also preferred the weekend days, but ranked Sunday first, followed by Saturday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Thursday, and Monday. Season preferences were ranked the same by husbands and wives. Spring was the first choice, followed by fall, summer, and winter.

Husbands ranked the twenties and thirties first and second respectively, while wives reversed this order. Both ranked the fifties and over seventh. Wives ranked childhood third, the forties fourth, and the teens fifth. Husbands ranked the forties third, the teens fourth, and childhood fifth.

The hypothesis that there would be different orientations toward standardized time could not be rigorously tested because of the lack of appropriate data. The available evidence indicates, however, that wives are more conscious of clock time and time in small units than are their husbands. Both husbands and wives view the husband's time as being the more valuable because it is spent in earning a living. Scheduling and promptness appeared to be equally important to both spouses.

The hypothesis that temporal horizons of husbands and wives are different is accepted. Husbands' temporal horizons extend further into the future than do those of their wives. Husbands also have a greater span than their wives in the nation-world category. Couples tend to have similar spans in the family category, although this tendency is not statistically significant. Common reference events for married pairs are most likely to be found in the area of the family and concern the couple's marriage and the births, educations, and marriages of their children. The reference events tended to coincide with the life experiences of the respondents. The Depression and World War I were more likely to be mentioned by those over forty years of age than by those under forty. This suggests that something like an age subculture must also be taken into account in the matter of temporal orientations. The highest averages of item agreements were found in the youngest age group and in the forty-one to fifty age groups. This may indicate that there may be certain stages in the family life cycle at which consensus is more likely to be found than at others.

The finding that there are different temporal orientation patterns for husbands and wives suggests that to some extent they are living in different sociocultural collectivities. Since orientations originating in sociocultural time function as part of the frame of reference for situational definitions, the implication is that there will be some lack of understanding between husbands and wives regarding temporal matters. The inability of husbands and wives to predict one another's responses is one indication that such a lack of understanding does exist. On the other hand, some of the similarities found, particularly those in the area of rhythm and temporal horizon, suggest that group interaction also functions as a temporal orientation force.

Reexamination of the findings regarding the various dimensions of time is of some help in suggesting possible explanations for orientation differences found in this study, in terms of their subcultural or interactional origins. The phenomenon of tempo results from varying ratios of activity per unit of time, and in the social sense, measures the rate of change from one social state to another. The fact that must of the housewife's day is spent routinely and in relative isolation, while her husband's is spent in the more varying and social occupational world may account for the husband's having a faster tempo orientation. The occupational world also functions to reinforce the male-sex subculture which may result in its being much more clearly defined than the female-sex subculture is for the women in this sample. Changes of social states are likely to occur more frequently in the husband's occupational environment. Whether the female sex-role generates a more naturalistic view of the world which Simmel says is associated with a slow tempo is a possibility not pursued here.

The literature indicates that the various qualitative links of time comprising rhythm take on different values according to the activities associated with those time periods. Married couples show less agreement on three of the four units investigated than do husbands randomly paired within age groups. Age is the only exception.

Women randomly paired within age groups show agreement about day of the week preference, but much less on the other units. Again this suggests that the male subculture exerts a stronger influence on the husbands' orientations than marital interaction does. The rank preferences for stage of life do reflect the most agreement between couples. Of some interest here is the difference in the ranking of childhood. Wives placed it third, while husbands rated it sixth. The influence of the family of orientation interaction may account for this difference since a more demanding socialization process is probably experienced by middle-class sons in American society.

The temporal horizon is the habitual time frame within which activity is ordered. It is anchored by reference events in the past and by what are percieved to be realizable events in the future. The longer span evidenced by husbands may again be due to their participation in a larger social world than is true of their wives. Of the five reference events listed by more than half of the respondents, four pertained to the family, and thirty-one couples had more consensus regarding the family than either the nation-world or occupational categories. This strongly suggests the influence of marital interaction on temporal horizon orientations.

1. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time. (Durham, North Carolina, 1943) p. 171.

2. Ibid., p. 190.

3. Ibid.

4. See, for example, Sorokin and Clarence Q. Berger, Time-Budgets of Human Behavior (Cambridge, 1939); Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work and Leisure (New York, 1962); F. Stuart Chapin, Jr. "The Use of Time Budgets in the Study of Urban Living Patterns," Research Previews 13 (November, 1966) pp.1-6.

5. Ibid., p. 14.

6. Sorokin, P. 171.

7. Ibid., p. 195.

8. Paul Fraisse, The Psychology of Time (New York, 1963) p. 84.

9. Ibid.

10. See Jessie Bernard, "The Adjustment of Married Mates," Hand Book of Marriage and The Family (Chicago, 1964) pp. 687-689.

A STUDY OF SELECTED VARIABLES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE MARRIED MALE STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD COLLEGE MARRIAGE

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One of the more recent phenomena of concern to family researchers is the increasing rise of college marriages and their development, management, adjustments, and special problems. Prior to World War II, most colleges made no arrangements for married students; however, during the past three decades college marriages have increased. The G. I. Bill opened college doors to World War II, Korean, and Vietnam veterans who otherwise may have never gone to college. Although formerly veterans composed the married student population, since the mid-1950's the married student population appears to be made up of high school graduates.

Through the years, there has been an increase in the number and proportion of married college students in the United States. In 1947, approximately 20 percent of the college students in this country were married.[1] Students who were married and residing with their spouses increased to 22.1 percent in 1968.[2] The increase for married male students between 1963 and 1968 was 10 percent of the total student enrollment.[3] As the previous statistics indicate, there appears to be a trend toward married students attending college.

It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the differential relationships between certain selected variables and the married male students' attitude toward college marriage, at Iowa State University, during the school year 1967-1968. In order to study the married male students' attitude, it should be kept in mind that the students' social attitudes are a predominate factor in determining his behavior. His interaction with others and with cultural products culminates in the formation of definite attitudes. Once acquired, these attitudes become value-laden and predispose him to hold a certain view toward an object. Although attitudes are relatively stable once formed, they can be changed through new information and learning, influential persons, and changed reference groups.[4] At the time the married male student is attending college, some factors may influence his attitude either favorably or unfavorably toward his marriage.

After a review of past literature concerning college marriage, nineteen variables were chosen to be tested to determine what relationship they might have toward college marriage. Those variables which were stated to have a positive relationship with the married male students' attitude toward college marriage were: (1) major field of study, (2) grade point, (3) student classification,[5] (4) age at marriage,[6] (5) satisfaction with living quarters, (6) family income,[7] (7) father's occupation,[8] (8) religiousness,[9] (9) importance of children,[10] (10) satisfaction with leisure time activity together,[11] (11) equalitarian decision-making,[12] (12) sexual adjustment,[13] (13) wife's marital adjustment, and (14) husband's marital adjustment.[14] Those variables which were stated to have a negative relationship with the married male students' attitude toward college marriage were: (1) number of credit hours carried,[15] (2) length of time as a student,[16] (3) number of children,[17] (4) number of unplanned children,[18] and (5) number of spouses in school.

Information concerning the collection of data and the sample was taken from factors related to marital adjustment among college students at Iowa State University, from an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation by Sharon Price Bonham. The empirical setting for this study was the fall semester of 1967 at Iowa State University. Approximately 17,000 students were enrolled of which 2,930 were married. This population was selected for study because to this date there had never been a study dealing with married students at Iowa State University and because it has one of the highest percentages of married students of any university in the United States. The requirements for this study were: (1) the husband be enrolled as a student at Iowa State University during the Spring Quarter, 1968, (2) the husband be enrolled in the Summer Session and plan to be enrolled as a student in the Fall Quarter, 1968, (3) both spouses be born in the United States, (4) both spouses be presently living at home, and (5) the spouses be married at least one month.

Housing for students was classified as two types: university and non-university. University housing is defined as all housing supervised by the Office of Married Student Housing. It was estimated that two-thirds of the married students lived in three types of university housing: Pammel and Hawthorne Courts and University Village. Non-university housing is defined as housing within the city limits of Ames, Iowa or trailer courts adjacent to the city limits at the time of this study. Non-university housing varied between apartment complexes, private homes, and mobile homes. A stratified random sample was used to choose 200 couples to be interviewed from the 1,989 married couples living in university and non-university housing. The Table of Random Numbers was used to choose the proportion of each stratified sample. A list of 50 consecutive households were chosen as substitutions for each housing category. If needed, they were to be used in the order chosen.

Personal contact and self-administered questionnaires were used to insure against non-response and incomplete returns. The questionnaire contained three categories: (1) questions to elicit background information, such as student classification, age at marriage, credit hours carried, length of time as a student, family size, grade point, and major field of study; (2) questions to elicit information concerning the couples' satisfaction with living quarters, family income, importance and effect of children, religiousness, satisfaction with leisure time activities, methods of decision-making, and sexual adjustment; and (3) a Test to Measure Marital Adjustment developed by Burgess, Locke, and Thomes. With exception to background questions, all others were forced choice. There were no "Don't Know" categories included in the responses to questions. Before receiving the questionnaire, all the respondents were contacted about its importance and purpose. Afterwards the questionnaire was passed out and picked up twenty-four hours later. Substitutions were used for five households. The refusal rate was less than one percent.

The questionnaire was constructed so each item was arbitrarily assigned a value of equal interval on a continuous scale, the exceptions were those questions which elicited background information. This equal interval scale reveals both the direction of the individual's stand on the issue and the intensity with which he holds it. An overall test score is obtained for each variable by finding the score or the sum of the numerical scores for the alternatives an individual checks on the various questions. A high score would be indicative of a stand on one end of the continum and a low score would be indicative of a stand on the other end. In this study, a high score would be indicative of an extremely favorable attitude toward college marriage and a low score would be indicative of an extremely unfavorable attitude toward college marriage.[19] The husband's and wife's marital adjustment was measured by a Test to Measure Marital Adjustment developed by Burgess, Locke, and Thomes, which included the areas of: permanance of the union, happiness of husband and wife, satisfaction with the marriage, sexual adjustment, integration, consensus, and companionship.[20]

The correlation coefficient was used as the statistical measure to determine the degree of relationship between the dependent and independent variables. A correlation coefficient tells one to what extent variations in one variable to with variations in the other variable and the comparison of strength of one relation to another. This knowledge of variations between variables enables one to make predictions. The correlation coefficient is a general measure, with wide applicability encompassing many kinds of data. It is also a measure having fixed reference points and particularly applicable to data which has fixed upper and lower limits. The size of this statistical measure depends entirely on the extent to which the two or more sets of data are related. This technique employs a full range of scores for each variable, rather than compress or group for analysis. In cases where the correlation coefficient values derived from the relation of variables were not significant, the variables were plotted on a XY axis in order to determine possible curvilinear relationships. In no cases which were plotted was there a curvilinear relationship. Each independent variable correlated with the dependent variable was tested at the .05 and .01 significance levels. Of these empirical hypotheses, only seven were found to be supported at the designated significance levels. The remaining ten empirical hypotheses, which were not supported, had very low calculated correlation coefficient values.

A major reason which could be offered as an explanation for the lack of support of the empirical hypotheses which were tested is the method used to measure the degree of attitude of the respondent. Consciously or unconsciously, the respondent may be set upon showing others that his attitude is favorable. Also, there is the possibility that the respondents could resent being asked personal questions which were on the test and refuse to answer questions or not answer them honestly. On the other hand, some respondents could have been trying to impress the researcher, thus attempting to make his score higher. Another possible reason why the hypotheses were not supported by the data is theoretical. Very little, if any, research has been done to determine the factors affecting attitudes toward college marriages. Previous research which has dealt with married college students was done in the 1940's and 1950's. It is possible that past research conducted with married college students is not applicable to the married college students of today, nor is research of non-college marriages applicable to the married college couple.

The shortcomings of this research was testing factors which were not significantly related to the married male students' attitude toward college marriage. On the basis of these findings, suggestions will be made for further research. It is this author's opinion that in order for researchers to get a clearer picture of the impact of attitude on college marriage, various methods will need to be used. The first step might be to hold conferences between counselors and family professors and married students on different college campuses so that factors which might affect students' attitudes toward college marriage can be determined. Another approach would be to provide a set of integrated measures that would focus on a number of important factors in college marriages, which would be related as elements in a theory of college marriage for descriptive, explanatory, and productive purposes. A third approach would be to test the homogeneity of attitudes of spouses. Even though older research has only limited value, its findings suggest that marriage is characterized by attitudinal homogeneity. The last approach to be mentioned here is a longitudinal study of the same couples. For this study, The names of all respondents have been secured and a follow-up study for the same population at five year interims would produce information valuable in predicting attitudes favorable to college marriage.

Factors previously used to determine attitude toward marriage may no longer be relevant as a basis to judge present day college marriages. There can be no doubt that within the last twenty years attitudes toward and factors influencing college marriage have changed immensely. Since research and methodology has improved considerably over the years, more precise and accurate measures can be formulated for college marriages. Exploratory studies that "probe" further into marital adjustment could develop more criteria to determine attitude toward college marriage.

FOOTNOTES

1. Paul Glick, American Families (New York: Wylie, 1957) p. 58.

2. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20/190, "School Enrollment: October 1967 and 1968" (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 3, 26.

3. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20/129, "School Enrollment: October 1963" (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 11-12.

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RESIDENCE PATTERNS OF DELINQUENT YOUTH: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE FATHERLESS HOME

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The importance of the home situation in understanding and predicting the incidence of juvenile delinquency has received considerable attention by social scientists. Attention has focused primarily on the "broken home" where the continued and stable interaction of the child with one or both of the parents is affected. There is no need to occupy ourselves with attempting to explain the obvious logic underlying this concern with a particular structural arrangement and its possible impact on the socialization process. However, Winslow, in Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society, suggests that "few attempts have been made to consider both the sociological and psychiatric-psychological aspects of the family's role in delinquency."[1] In other words, he feels most sociological studies have dealt with the outward structure of the family with little concomitant concern with the psychic motivations and internal dynamics of the delinquent.

This paper is concerned with the structural arrangement of the homes of a particular delinquent population, with special attention being given to the home where the father is absent, but an effort will be made to point out some specific characteristics of these cases which might better explain why the child from this type home environment might engage in delinquent behavior. No psychological tests have been employed in this investigation, but some of the underlying psychological variables are suggested when one considers other conditions significantly related to the incidence of delinquency in this particular community.

The information reported in this paper was gathered from the tapes of the official records of the Shelby County, Tennessee Juvenile Court for 1968, the 1967 Special Census, and some of the work carried out by the Mid-South Medical Center Council for Comprehensive Health Planning. Since this is a secondary analysis of data from other sources, unfortunate limitations are placed on the degree to which the information can be made applicable to the particular problem here under investigation, but it does not negate the possibilities of drawing some significant generalizations which will, hopefully, lead to more fruitful investigation in the area of juvenile delinquency in particular and the problems of youth in general.

The writers were charged with the responsibility of researching the incidence and nature of delinquency and dependency in the Memphis area by the Youth Guidance Commission, and the official records of the Juvenile Court were made available for that purpose.[2] The records summarized the information collected on the Face Sheet filled in by a court official for each individual referred to the Court. This Face Sheet oftains information about the child (e.g., sex, age, residence, educational level, etc.), the child's family and home background, the nature of the offense, and the previous court record of the alleged offender. In 1968, 7696 cases were referred to the Court[3] involving 6415 children (many returned to the Court during the year with a new Face Sheet completed for each referral). Of the total number of cases, 1407 (18%) were designated as dependency cases which leaves 6289 recorded cases of delinquent behavior. A much larger number of males were involved in Court action than females (75.58%) and 65.07% of the cases involved blacks. Therefore, the black male emerges as the most problematic in terms of probability of delinquent behavior, followed by white males, black females, and white females. When this information was controlled for age, the same ordering by race and sex appeared at every level for delinquent cases. The information summarized in Table I also indicates that black males were disproportionately represented in all types of offenses (other than traffic offenses which accounted for a very small proportion of all offenses). The nature of the offense committed is broken down into three categories -- those applicable to both juveniles and adults (e.g., murder, theft, disorderly conduct, etc.), those offenses applicable to juveniles only (e.g., truancy, running away, etc.), and traffic offenses.

Only 36.1% of the Court contacts had both parents married and living together with an even smaller percentage (33.76%) reported to be living with both parents. Slightly less than one-third of the contacts (32.56%) were reported to be living with the mother only.[4] As would be expected, this was more true for all blacks -- both male and female -- than for whites. (See Table I) These percentages, therefore, add support to the commonly accepted notion that delinquent behavior tends to be associated with unstable homes, and that the "abnormal" situation most prevalent is characterized by paternal absense. However, the impact of this particular structural arrangement of the home is not always consistent, for there are variations evident which have been related to age differences,[5] rural-urban differences,[6] the nature of the offense,[7] and sex differences.[8] In the latter case, females appear in general to be more affected by the broken home than males, although some of the differences in their incidence of delinquent behavior tend to disappear when one controls for type of offense. Females generally tend to be involved in offenses considered to be less serious.

Given the above, one might question why there appears to have been so much more concern with the effect of the broken home on the male offender (and on the male in general) than the female. One obvious reason must be the greater incidence of delinquent behavior among males. Males are more involved in overt anti-social behavior that is of concern to society (and therefore considered delinquent) and the possible impact of the unstable home seems to be more apparent. It is possible that females react to the conditions of an unstable home in terms of behavior that may not necessarily be categorized as delinquent from the legal standpoint (e.g., premarital sexual relationships or early marriages). Another reason for the concern with the male offender might be explained in terms of the Parsonian argument for the importance of the adult male role model for the adolescent male.[9] There is evidence that males raised in "fatherless homes" may tend to be more feminine in manner, more dependent, and less aggressive.[10] A significant study of "Some Effects of Paternal Absence on Male Children" -- which involved a longitudinal study of the effects of permanently broken homes on abnormal behavior -- concluded that paternal absence tended to produce feminine-aggressive behavior (especially at certain ages) and was accompanied by intense sexual anxiety, but it did not appear to produce abnormal fears or a greater tendency toward gang delinquency. The most significant conclusion, which runs throughout the article, seems to be: "The relationship between criminality and paternal absence appears to be largely a result of the general instability of broken homes rather than of paternal absence itself."[11] In another study (as well as the one just mentioned) by McCord and McCord, they found that the presence of at least one warm responsive parent and/or consistent parental discipline could mitigate somewhat the delinquency-producing effect of a "criminal" father (or no father?). Parental rejection and the lack of maternal warmth were significantly related to delinquency.[12]

In light of these statements of findings, an earlier point in this paper should be re-emphasized -- i.e., studies of "abnormal" behavior of youth should focus on both the sociological and psychiatric-psychological aspects of the family's role in delinquency. Neither approach in itself can be completely adequate. In an effort to call attention to some possible psychological factors associated with rates of delinquency and the incidence of unstable family relationships, another variable will be considered in this analysis. Throughout most of the research in the area of juvenile delinquency, reference is continually made to the economic factors associated with juvenile delinquency. Winslow devotes an entire chapter to this topic, emphasizing that crime and delinquency (at least the types with which society is pre-occupied) are concentrated among males in lower income groups living in urban centers. Delinquents in high-delinquency populations and their families are the products of "economic and related social circumstances that determine opportunities, influence motives, help shape attitudes, and fix the daily prospects for health and well-being."[13] Broken homes, therefore, may reflect the instabilities of a total environment, rather than the problems of particular individuals or particular family groups. When one considers the demoralizing conditions accompanying low socio-economic status (which is very likely to be characterized by a high incidence of unstable marriage and family relationships), the significance of motivational and attitudinal variables produced by such situations becomes apparent.

When the Juvenile Court contacts of Memphis are viewed according to general socio-economic level, a very significant inverse relationship is apparent. On the basis of an index involving nine factors (including median family income, poor housing rate, percent non-white, median educational level, birth rate, illegitimate birth rate, death rate, infant death rate, and population density), the census tracts of the city were divided into three socio-economic levels relatively equal in population size.[14] The lower-third accounted for almost two-thirds of all Court contacts and two-thirds of all delinquency contacts (when dependency cases were eliminated) in 1968. (This information is summarized in Table II.) It is interesting to note that when the nature of the offense was considered for those contacts within each of the three socio-economic levels, there was only a slight variation in evidence between these levels. This is consistent with previous research dealing with Social Class and Delinquency by McDonald which concluded that one could not predict on the basis of knowledge of class membership the type criminal offense likely to be committed. However, one can predict on the basis of knowledge of socio-economic status the probability of delinquent behavior.[15] There was a greater incidence of traffic offenses among the Court contacts from upper socio-economic levels and those from lower levels were only slightly more likely to be involved in more serious offenses in Memphis. No other patterns were evident.

The information summarized in this paper has added support to the generalization that the incidence of juvenile delinquency tends to be associated with unstable family situations. There is also strong evidence that the "fatherless home" tends to be a particularly problematic situation, but there is also enough evidence to suggest that paternal absence may be a reflection, rather than the cause, of unstable social conditions which will lead to various forms of deviant behavior. In recent years, there has been enough research into the problems of poverty to suggest that such social conditions are likely to have a definite impact on the individuals who are often the victims of such an environment, and their perceptual framework and their aspirations for mobility. Gladwin states poverty is more than just being poor -- it is being despised, being incompetent, and being powerless as well.[16] The individual who finds himself in such a situation may very easily rationalize any means to alter his situation, even criminal behavior. Coser argues that the norms of any society are internalized more by the upper classes because the norms are their norms, while the lower levels feel they are subject to something they had no part in formulating and, therefore, often tend to reject the norms -- not because they are bad, but because they do not identify with these rules as their rules.[17] On the basis of such arguments, the writers contend that there is strong evidence that the unstable family structures in the population here under consideration are but a reflection of the underlying instability of the total environment of many of these delinquents. Evidently, many of these young people who become juvenile court statistics know the demoralizing and frustrating conditions affecting those who live on inadequate incomes, with inadequate diets, in adequate homes, with inadequate opportunities to change the situation. Therefore, an understanding of the factors associated with delinquency requires consideration of more than just the structural aspects of the environment. Residence patterns includes the total environment and the attitudes it might foster. It should also be emphasized that that consideration here of only lower class behavior does not eliminate the possibility that the same type of analysis is needed when one considers upper or middle or working class delinquency as well, even though possible psychological variables may be more difficult to identify. The point is that consideration of residence patterns of delinquent youth must go beyond a consideration of only the family structure -- one must consider the total environment and its possible impact in motivating an individual to engage in deviant behavior.

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TABLE I
Distribution of Juvenile Court Contracts in Memphis & Shelby County in 1968 According to Offense and Living Arrangement by Race and Sex

Race & Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6
Black Male	51.09% N=3925	57.9% N=3581	66.4%	91.3%	32% N=1259	38.5% N=1514
White Male	24.49% N=1882	23.4% N=1446	51.1%	76.9%	45.7% N=861	21.1% N=398
Black Female	14.09% N=1083	17.2% N=743	33.9%	68.6%	21.7% N=236	37.2% N=403
White Female	10.30% N=792	6.7% N=417	20.1%	52.7%	29% N=230	23.8% N=189

1. Percent of total court contacts
2. Percent of court contacts for delinquent offense (excluding dependency cases)
3. Percent of category (i.e., race & sex) involved in serious designated offense applicable to juveniles & adults (excludes cases where nature of offense not designated)
4. Percent of category involved in adult & juvenile (e.g., truancy) offenses
5. Percent of category living with both parents
6. Percent of category living with mother only (i.e., father absent)

TABLE II
Distribution of Juvenile Court Contacts in Memphis & Shelby County in 1968 According to Offense & Social Conditions of Residence by Socio-Economic Level

Socio-Economic Level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Upper Third	13%	11%	1%	15.4%	3,400	16.8	107	$6,120	11.5	80
Middle Third	24%	25%	2.4%							
Lower Third	63%	64%	4.6%	87.7%	9,200	25.7	426	$3,070	8.2	326

1. Percent of total court contacts
2. Percent of court contacts involved in some delinquent offense (excludes dependency & traffic cases)
3. Percent of total population under 19 referred to court
4. Percent of population non-white
5. Population Density per square mile
6. Birth rate (per 1000 population)
7. Illegitimacy rate (per 1000 live births)
8. Median family income
9. Median years of education of all persons 25 or over
10. Unsound housing rate (deteriorated houses per 1000 housing units)

A STUDY OF RETREATISM IN GLUE SNIFFING AND NON-GLUE-SNIFFING DELINQUENTS IN UTAH

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INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the decade of the 1960's law enforcement officials in many large communities of the United States have become increasingly alarmed at the growing practice of glue sniffing among young teenagers. Prohibitive cost and difficulty of procurement has previously acted as a major deterrent denying children access to a consistent or steady supply of drugs. However, with the discovery among young people of the delirium producing characteristics of volatile solvents contained in cheap and easily obtained substances like gasoline, model airplane glue, lighter fluid, paint thinner or cleaning fluid the problem of procurement ceased to be a significant factor in deterrence. Of these available chemicals glue seems to have achieved the notorious distinction of being the most popular.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of the present study was to test empirically the validity of two opposing theories which have commonly served as explanations for substance abuse behavior, including glue sniffing. That is, the investigator sought to test on the one hand the commonly held notion that persons who indulge in substance abuse, whether hard drugs, marijuana, LSD or glue are essentially retreatists. That such persons are escaping responsibilities and frustrations of life by fleeing into a delusioned sense of freedom created by noxious stimuli.

In opposition to the retreatist explanation is the likewise commonly held notion that children who engage in substance abuse are not really different in personality make up from other delinquents. Glue sniffing behavior, for example, is regarded as being rooted in the normative structure of the youngster's subcultural milieu, and is therefore learned behavior. Accordingly, the child's behavior is believed to result from a desire for acceptance, recognition or prestige amongst his peers; rather than from a psychogenically based need to escape from the harshness of reality.

The design for this study was based upon the premise that if in fact the critical variable operating to produce glue sniffing behavior was an individual characteristic like "retreatism" or "escapism" then such a characteristic would be manifested in the personality make up of the individual, thereby making it possible to measure the variable with standard psychometric instruments. This being the case, it would then be desirable to design the study so as to compare glue-sniffing boys with non-glue-sniffing boys with regard to the presence of this characteristic in their personality profiles. Thus, if "retreatism" tendencies do differ between glue sniffers and non-glue sniffers, then the psychometric profiles of the two groups would be readily distinguishable when compared.

On the other hand, if the critical variable operating to produce sniffing behavior is a social factor emminating from the dynamics of the group process then one would predict that the personality profiles of the glue sniffer and the non-glue sniffer, whose subcultural backgrounds are essentially the same, would not be readily distinguishable from one another.

HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

The basic hypothesis proposed and tested by this research is the following:

1. No significant difference will appear to distinguish glue-sniffing delinquents from non-glue sniffing delinquents when the two groups are compared for "retreatist" or "escapist" tendencies.

Because of the necessity of operationally defining the theoretical variable "retreatism" in terms of test scores and various kinds of avoidance behavior, such as running away from home and dropping out of school, it becomes necessary to generate several secondary hypotheses to be tested. Accordingly, the following secondary hypotheses were proposed and tested by this research project:

A. No significant differences will appear to distinguish the test profiles of glue-sniffing delinquents from the test profiles of non-glue-sniffing delinquents when the two groups are compared for performances on such psychological tests as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), and the Conceptual Systems Test (CST).

B. No significant differences will appear to distinguish glue-sniffing delinquents from non-glue-sniffing delinquents when the two groups are compared for "avoidance" behavior toward school; that is, dropping out of school.

C. No significant differences will appear to distinguish glue-sniffing delinquents from non-glue-sniffing delinquents when the two groups are compared in terms of the number of times each has run away from home.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The following test instruments were utilized in accomplishing the present research: the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), and the Conceptual Systems Test (CST).

SAMPLE

The sixty-four children used as subjects in this study were all students at the Utah State Industrial School (SIS) located in Ogden, Utah. They had all been committed to the school after having been adjudicated as delinquent by one of the juvenile courts in the state of Utah. The range of offenses which this group of youngsters had committed was quite broad. The records revealed that as a group they had committed nearly every offense of which juveniles are commonly accused. The children were all boys and ranged from eleven to seventeen years of age.

Glue-sniffing boys were selected first. In order to obtain as large a sample as possible, boys were selected whose commitment to the school dated as far back as January, 1965. A boy was selected for the experimental group only if he had admitted sniffing glue one or more times per week for a period of at least a year sometime prior to his incarceration in the school. For several of the boys the records indicated that one of the primary reasons for their appearance before the juvenile court was for repeated inhalation of noxious glue fumes. Most of the boys in this group were, however, guilty of many other offenses as well. Since there was no way of absolutely verifying the degree of glue sniffing behavior on each boy's part, the investigator accepted only those boys into the experimental group whose official court record or initial school commitment file indicated that in a private interview, each boy had individually admitted to using glue frequently.

Three different ethnic backgrounds were represented in the experimental group. There were fourteen American Indian boys, eleven Caucasian boys and seven boys of Spanish American descent.

Since the clinical staff of the SIS routinely administer the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children (WISC) to each youngster admitted to the institution, there was available a full-scale WISC score on each boy's file. Intellectually the glue-sniffing boys ranged in IQ points from a low of 77 to a high of 110 with a mean of 95.2.

Once the thirty-two members of the glue-sniffing group had been selected the next task was to select a group of non-glue-sniffing boys who matched the glue-sniffing boys in the important characteristics of age, intelligence, and ethnic descent.

RESULTS

An examination of the data reveals that, when compared statistically, the performance of the glue-sniffing boys did not differ significantly from that of the non-glue-sniffing boys, with respect to thirty-two of the thirty-three different variables tested. A significant difference in the performance of the two groups was found, however, in their responses on the Gi (Need to Make a Good Impression) scale of the CPI. This difference was significant at the .01 level of confidence.

DISCUSSION

One of the basic meanings implied by the findings of the study is that they fail to lend support to that large theoretical camp which proposes to explain glue-sniffing behavior as being essentially the product of the individual glue sniffer's need to escape or retreat from the pressures and frustrations of his daily existence. This conclusion being justified because the data failed to identify or detect the presence of any significant amount of retreatist behavior to clearly distinguish glue-sniffing delinquents from non-glue-sniffing delinquents. Thus, doubt is cast upon the validity of explanations of glue-sniffing behavior which are propagated by theorists who point to Ohlin and Cloward's "double-failure" concept as a basis for their explanations. The study failed to show that the glue-sniffing boys at SIS were a failure in any greater sense than were the non-glue-sniffing boys.

A second meaning to be derived from the research findings is that there was evidence to support the theoretical contention that glue-sniffing behavior is basically the product of social forces present in the processes of peer group functioning as well as those present in the subcultural milieu in which the youngster is nurtured. That is, youngsters come to sniff glue for the same reasons that boys commit other delinquent and unlawful acts; namely because their subcultural milieu offers this form of behavior as one possible response to be selected from a large repertoire of "thrill seeking" and "law defying" responses. Given the presence of glue-sniffing behavior patterns in the subculture and given the presence of groups of "impulsive" and "thrill seeking" youngsters in the same subculture, it is not unreasonable to expect that some of them (perhaps "learning" through differential patterns of association in the community is a possible explanation of why some groups acquire a given pattern of behavior as a norm while others in the same area do not) will eventually display the behavior simply through the operation of chance factors.

In support of the contention that glue sniffing is essentially a group phenomenon, the study revealed that the glue sniffers sniffed glue almost always while in the presence of peer group members and only rarely by themselves.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research project was designed to investigate the nature of the motivation underlying the practice by youngsters of the inhalation of noxious glue fumes (otherwise known as glue sniffing). Specifically this study sought to determine whether the personality variable of "retreatism" was the basic motivating factor impinging upon the glue sniffers. To test these questions the following procedures were used.

Thirty-two glue-sniffing delinquent boys were matched for age, intelligence, and ethnic descent with thirty-two non-glue-sniffing delinquent boys. All boys in both groups had been adjudicated as delinquent by a juvenile court in the state of Utah and incarcerated in the State Industrial School located in Ogden, Utah.

The performances of the two groups of boys were then statistically compared with respect to their mean response scores on the various scales of the MMPI, CPI, and the CST. Statistical comparisons were also made of certain avoidance behavior, such as running away from home and dropping or skipping school.

A statistical analysis employing the "t" test revealed that with the exception of one CPI (Gi) there was no significant difference in the "retreatist" tendencies of the two groups.

As a result of this study the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Glue-sniffing behavior is no more the result of an individual's personal need to indulge in emotional "escapism" than is other delinquency. There is no evidence to indicate that glue-sniffing delinquents are actually or even feel as though they are greater failures than non-glue-sniffing delinquents.

2. Glue-sniffing behavior probably develops in much the same manner as does other forms of delinquent and unlawful behavior. That is, glue sniffing is probably learned in the course of the socialization process occuring in a youngster's peer group and his subcultural milieu.

3. Probably the lack of a large metropolitan area within its borders, such as is found in states like New York and California, has been instrumental in preventing the practice of sniffing glue from, as yet, becoming a social problem of significant proportions in the state of Utah.

4. It is recognized that before the findings of this study can reasonably be generalized to a population outside of Utah, they will have to be verified through further research utilizing samples from other localities.

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SOME FACTORS AFFECTING HIGH SCHOOL DRINKING

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I. INTRODUCTION

Despite increased concern about drug abuse among youth, alcohol is still the primary mood-modifying substance used in our society in all age groups. Thus, a study of alcohol usage is still relevant, especially when we consider the fact that attitudes toward alcohol usage (positive or negative) influences a person's orientation toward all mood-modifiers. For example, marihuana users may justify their behavior on the grounds that marihuana is no worse than alcohol.[1]

According to Ullman,[2] to go to the age of twenty-one without having a drink of alcohol is relatively unusual and most studies indicate that alcohol use starts in the mid-teens. In spite of this, the United States Task Force Report on Drunkenness[3] found that there were no national surveys of high school drinking patterns and that most of the available data are based upon local studies carried out in the 1940's and 1950's.

Previous studies indicate that drinking is learned behavior which reflects the values and expectations of significant reference groups. The two strongest influences mentioned in the literature are family drinking patterns, and peer group norms.[4,5] Bacon and Jones, for example, suggests that, ". . . the best explanation for teenage drinking is quite simple: they drink because their parents do."[6]

Riester[7] relates drinking behavior to the informal structure in the high schools with the "collegiates" having the highest level of alcohol use. In a study of adolescent problem drinkers, Zucker found that they revealed more evidence of orality and fantasy about aggression.[8]

A review of previous research raises three basic questions which still require investigation. First, all of the previous studies involved adult interviewers with teenage respondents. The extent to which this may have distorted responses is not known. Second, the introduction of other drugs may have influenced drinking patterns. This could be especially true in this age group where new fads and fashions spread rapidly. Finally, some writers have described teenage behavior as "playing with drinking" in preparation for "coming of age."[9, 10, 11] As the individual approaches adulthood, the importance of drinking should decline and stabilize according to adult patterns. This research attempts to deal with these issues.

II. RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The data consisted of questionnaires from 480 high school students in a southwestern city of approximately 400,000. The questionnaires were administered by members of a distributive education class as part of a project which was to be entered in a state contest.* Thus, the interviewers were highly motivated to obtain valid results. The questionnaire was constructed with the guidance of a social psychologist who also provided instruction in interviewing techniques. Since the questionnaires could not be administered in the schools, interviewers went to major shopping centers which were carefully selected to represent different socioeconomic areas of the city.

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* It appears that one of the reasons for the paucity of studies in this area is the fact that although adults know that drinking occurs, they prefer to ignore it, and frown upon efforts to find the facts. When this study was publicized, the students were not allowed to enter it in the state contest and the questionnaires and data cards were removed from circulation. Thus, we were very limited in the types of analysis which could be made.

III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As indicated earlier, parental opposition resulted in the withdrawal of the data cards and the questionnaires. Thus, the only data available for analysis were on the print out which summarized the responses to each questionnaire item. Complete analyses of interrelations or correlations between variables were precluded. Data were available for Chi Square tests of differences in adolescent drinking behavior as related to sex, grade in high school, family income, and parental drinking habits as perceived by the student. Five hypotheses were tested concerning quantity of drinking and five for frequency. Each of the hypotheses for quantity was divided into three separate tests, one each for beer, wine, and spirits, and a weighted score was developed in which each respondent was placed in low, medium, or high drinking categories.

Figure I
System for Weighting Scores

Do you drink:	
Once--twice a year?	Low
Once--twice a month?	Medium
Once--three times a week?	High
If you drink beer, how much do you drink at one time?	
One-two cans	Low
One quart-one six-pack	Medium
Two six packs and over	High
If you drink wine, how much do you drink at one time?	
4 oz.--8 oz.	Low
½ pint	Medium
1 pint and over	High
If you drink spirits, how much do you drink at one time?	
1--2 ounces	Low
½ pint	Medium
1 pint and over	High

Sex. Tests of the hypotheses revealed that male* drinking was significantly higher than female for beer and spirits ($X^2 > .01$) and wine ($X^2 > .05$). Analysis of frequency of drinking showed males significantly higher for all the beverages ($X^2 > .01$). Data from a pure alcohol consumption scale supported these findings with males drinking approximately twice as much as females. Thus, the findings generally supported sex differentials as reported in the literature.

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* All references to male or female now refer to students unless specified otherwise.

Grade. The hypotheses that quantity and frequency of drinking would be greater for students in the higher grades were not accepted ($X^2 < .05$). The data show an increase from grade nine to eleven, with a "leveling off" in grade twelve. These data agree with Maddox's[12] findings that, by the senior year in high school, students have begun to reach what will be their adult drinking pattern.

Income. While it is often assumed[13] that drinking is most common among lower income groups, most research does not support this supposition.[14, 15, 16] In this study, no significant differences were found on the basis of family income ($X^2 < .05$). Descriptive data did, however, show higher drinking at both extremes of family income.

Parental Drinking. The hypotheses concerning relationships of parental drinking habits to quantity and frequency of drinking among high school students did not show significance ($X^2 < .05$), except for the fact that wine consumption was higher for students whose fathers drank ($X^2 > .05$). This is an interesting finding, for wine is shown to be consistently less popular in the literature as an alcoholic beverage, with the highest consumption in the lowest and highest incomes. Since the city under consideration is not ethnically structured to suggest family wine drinking, our best guess is that this is a result of a reportedly growing popularity of wine parties (as opposed to the more traditional "beer bust" of the area) which is beginning to have an impact on the traditions. Although not significant, our data indicate that fathers who *do not* drink are most likely to have students who *do* drink.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

In this study we examined relationships between high school students' drinking patterns and sex, grade, income, and parental drinking. Chi square values calculated for the hypotheses dealing with sex differentials were highly significant and were supported in all instances by the descriptive data. The only other significant value was for wine consumption which was higher for students whose fathers drank. A great difference was found in the study as to the number of drinkers of spirits, who were almost as numerous as the number of drinkers of beer. This is contrary to most previous research reported in the literature and suggests the need for further refinement of instruments to probe for more exact accounts of what type of beverage is used--and why. Also, our study shows a higher incidence of male drinkers than Cahalan and Cisin[17] report for this area. This could suggest that either this city is nonrepresentative of the area or that a national norm is evolving.

There is much work yet to be done in the field of high school drinking patterns. The literature is limited and geographically restricted. Definitions of "drinker" and "abstainer" need refinement, and instruments should be designed upon a social psychological foundation which will delve into attitudes and behavior. The experience in this research in which data were withdrawn because of public pressure indicates a great need for scientific research--free from emotional and moral restrictions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Richard H. Blum and Associates, Society and Drugs, Vol. I (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969).

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7. A. E. Riester, "Normal Drinking and High School Social Structure," Proceedings of the 28th International Conference on Alcoholism, Vol. I (1968) p. 19.

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9. George I. Maddox, "Drinking in High School: An Interpretive Summary," Newsletter of the Association for the Advancement of Instruction About Alcohol and Narcotics, Vol. IV, No. 3 (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, 1958) pp. 3-14.

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MARIJUANA AND PERSONALITY CHANGE

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Statement of the Problem.

Along with the recent flood of speculations concerning the effects of marijuana comes the conviction that only through sound empirical research may we arrive at a reliable understanding of this phenomenon. Some steps in this direction already have begun. Medical researchers have contributed measurable findings in determining some of the physical effects of marijuana. Studies of the psychological consequences of its use, however, have been restricted largely to the clinical level, and generalizations are slow to come by and remain tenuous at best.

Follow-up research over a period of years will be required before long-range physical and psychological effects can be determined. Meanwhile, studies aimed at discovering immediate effects can and should be made. This is the purpose of the present research: to discover what changes, if any, taken place, not over an extended period of time, but rather from comparisons of a sample made before and after using marijuana. Also, inasmuch as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), a standardized test, is used, it is possible to make comparisons between subjects of the present study when not using marijuana and persons of comparable age and education who previously have been observed by other researchers using the MMPI. Thus, we hoped not only to observe change in personality traits as marijuana was used, but also to indicate differences that exist between the subjects studied here and the comparable group formerly researched. Admittedly, this latter comparison stands on rather shaky ground methodologically, but it may be of some value in developing hypotheses, tentative as they be, concerning the personalities of young persons who turn to the use of marijuana. This latter comparison is not a vital part of the present research, but is included because it reveals the rather striking differences that exist between marijuana users--at least the ones included in this study--and young people in general of equal age and education.

The conclusions obtained from this research are by no means complete, nor do they assure an understanding of the subtleties of personality change as the drug is ingested. Neither do they provide any more than a mere hint of what long-term use of marijuana may have in store for the prolonged user. Yet it is hoped that this research will be useful as a stepping stone to further, more elaborate, and methodologically sound research, which no doubt will enhance our understanding the marijuana phenomenon.

Review of the Literature.

Following the marijuana scare of the 30's, Mayor LaGuardia of New York courageously instigated what was, and still remains, the most comprehensive empirical study of the effects of marijuana on personality.[1] In summary, the findings of that study lead to the conclusion that a marijuana "high" produces lowered ability to organize, a falling off of meaningful behavior, a proneness to jump to erroneous conclusions, poorer adjustment, insecurity, lowered aspirations, increased criticisms, anxiety, and an increased desire for dominance. Possible favorable reactions include a prevailing (emphasis mine) mood of confidence and self-satisfaction, along with lowered inhibitions. However, according to those findings, basic personality remains unaltered.

From those studies until the present, there has been a dirth of empirical research concerning the psychological effects of marijuana. Lately, however, considerable attention has been devoted to the problem by clinicians, and their current observations are well summarized by McGlothlin and West.[2] They contend that small amounts of marijuana act as a mild euphoriant and sedative somewhat like alcohol. Its effects in larger doses more closely resemble those of the hallucinogens. They believe that "regular use may contribute to the development of more passive, inward turning, amotivational personality characteristics." While they recognize the difficulty of parceling out social and other factors, they cautiously state "It appears that regular use of marijuana may very well contribute to some characteristic personality changes . . . (including) apathy, loss of effectiveness, and dimished capacity or willingness to carry out complex long-term plans, endure frustration, concentrate for long periods, follow routines, or successfully master new materials."[3] Sidney Cohen states that "At times mental confusion, rather terrifying paranoid thoughts, and anxiety pervade."[4]

Users themselves, while not reporting as many adverse effects as clinicians, do recognize feelings of dizziness, lightness in the head, disorientation of thinking, depersonalization (double consciousness), stretching of time, and sometimes anxiety, fear, or even panic. But mostly they report favorable symptoms in terms of euphoria, feelings of personal well-being, omnipotence, and improved insight.

The findings of the LaGuardia study along with the clinicians reports and what users themselves say were used in formulating hypotheses which the present study tested.

Procedure.

Individuals who heard of the plans to research the effects of marijuana came and asked if they could assist in any way. Those who in my judgment appeared dependable and research oriented and who had rapport with users of the drug were carefully instructed in the administration of the MMPI. Three such persons collected the data. The sample was taken from several cities of two states and consisted of 37 subjects who met the criteria for validity of responses, who fell within the age range from 17 to 23 years, and who had an educational level from 12 to 16 years of formal education.

The selection of an instrument for testing personality change gravitated to the MMPI largely because it provides the opportunity to measure many phases of personality by a single test. Furthermore, it is a standardized test of broad use, having high validity and reliability. Although persons with a sixth-grade education are usually qualified to take the MMPI, it usually requires from about one to one and a half hours to complete, which posed considerable difficulty for the more highly influenced subjects to sustain the concentration required to finish. Largely because of this, approximately 30 per cent of the respondents who started the test either did not finish or resorted to random responses which invalidated their tests.

A detailed description of the MMIP cannot be included here due to the breviety of this paper. Suffice it to say that it is a psychometric instrument comprised of 550 items providing scores on the more important phases of personality. Four validity scales have been developed in conjunction with the MMPI by which several forms of omission or distortion may be detected.

The MMPI was administered to each subject when not influenced and then again when under the influence of marijuana. The responses were sent to a computer center that specializes in MMPI analysis. Then these individual data were punched on cards and scores were obtained by which mean changes on the various scales were determined.

The Findings.

When the responses of the sample's first test--made when not influenced by marijuana--were compared to the results of a former study of comparable age and educational level, the sample responded considerably more frequently to items on scales based upon patients who revealed bizarre and unusual thoughts, were troubled by phobias, obsessions and compulsions, showed suspiciousness, emotional excitement, flight of ideas, and psychopathic tendencies. They also scored higher on traits of withdrawal, anxiety, rigidity, and feelings of persecution. Whether the sample became so because of prolonged marijuana use or turned to the drug because they manifested these traits earlier has not been determined. At best we may assume that the sample is not representative of individuals of comparable age and education.

Inasmuch as a detailed description of the findings cannot be given here, only brief results are presented under five general syndromes of personality--contact with reality, overt anxiety, depression, social adjustment, and personal adequacy. Although there is considerable overlap between some of these types, e.g., depression and personal adequacy, each has meaningful interpretation in its own right.

Contact with Reality.--Five MMPI scales measure contact with reality in various forms. Without exception all five scales reflected a significant ($P<.01$) reduction of contact with reality in terms of bizarre thinking, withdrawal, suspiciousness, oversensitivity, delusions, phobias, compulsive behavior, excessive fears and doubts, and flight of ideas as marijuana was used. Younger (age 17-19) subjects experienced considerably more change than the older (20-23) sample, as did females compared to males. Furthermore, there was a direct linear correlation between the level of intoxication and loss of contact with reality.

Overt Anxiety.--Five of six scales used to measure various aspects of overt anxiety revealed increases as marijuana was used--changes on four of these five scales were significant at the .01 level, indicating increased anxiety in terms of insecurity, tension, nervousness, inhibition, and fears. Changes on the one scale where overt anxiety appeared to be reduced as marijuana was used lead us to believe that repression and conventionality is reduced. While younger users revealed generally greater increases in overt anxiety as marijuana was used, age holds no significantly clear-cut implications for maladjustment in this respect. Females revealed increases on five of the six scales, showing greater overt anxiety than males as marijuana was used. On the sixth scale males revealed practically the same increase in anxiety as did females. With respect to the level of influence, there was a direct relationship between the increased level of anxiety and how "high" the subject was. While some aspects of overt anxiety appear to change about the same amount regardless of the level of intoxication, traits of hypochondriaies, hysteria, and phobias and compulsive behavior increase considerably more as the influence of marijuana is increased.

Depression.--When posttest scores on the depression scale of the MMPI were compared to those on the pretest, a significant ($P<.01$) increase was found. Although the younger users became more depressed as marijuana was used, the older sample reflect considerably greater increases in depression. Again, females showed markedly greater increases in depression than did males, but the level of influence, surprisingly, appeared to make little difference.

Social Adjustment.--Many phases of personality enter into the overall ability to relate to an individual's social environment, and for this reason several scales were utilized to determine the effects of marijuana on social adjustment. Without exception, all seven scales indicate that as marijuana is used, individuals experience increased social maladjustment in terms of reduced social envolvement;

reduced interest in other people; apathy; awkwardness; defensiveness; aggressiveness; bossiness; dominance; reduced social poise, self-assurance, and social initiative; and undependability, bitterness, and distrust. Although age had little affect on the amount of change, females compared to males appear to experience a pronounced greater change in terms of social maladjustment. The level of "high" also appears to be a significant factor with the more highly influenced revealing greater maladjustment.

Personal Adequacy.--On four scales--ego strength, dependency, dominance, and control--significant ($P<.05$ on all four) reductions were found, leading us to believe that marijuana produces feelings of inhibition, dissociation, and personal inadequacy. Also, there is a loss of poise, self-assurance, and control of emotional difficulties. Age appears to be an indecisive factor. Females, according to pattern, suffered more unfavorable reactions than did males on three scales. Males did reflect a greater loss of control, but the more marked differences are found on the other three scales. Although an increased level of "high" produced more unfavorable scores on all four scales, compared to the less influenced, the highly influenced revealed a relatively strong increase only on the dominance scale. Increased dosage appears to affect poise and self-assurance more than anything else.

This Study Compared to Related Reports.

With respect to contact with reality, there is general agreement between the findings of the present study, the La Guardia studies, and subjective users, all claiming disoriented thinking, depersonalization and hallucination as marijuana is used. In addition to what has formerly been reported, this study found increased withdrawal, phobias, and compulsive behavior as symptomatic of marijuana use.

Although users themselves report anxiety, they maintain it is usually subordinate to concommitant feelings of general well-being. The La Guardia studies also lead us to expect that the "*more obvious*" feelings of well-being and a "*prevailing*"[5] (emphases mine) mood of self-confidence tend to outweigh anxieties. Perhaps the most important finding of the present study is, at least among the subjects observed, that exactly the reverse is true. Anxiety and depression, by almost every measure, appear to be dominant features of the marijuana experience. Instead of feelings of euphoria, self-confidence, and a sense of well-being dominating, the data suggest that reduced morale, feelings of uselessness and inability to view the future with optimism, reduced self-confidence, increased worry and introversion are dominating symptoms.

On two scales the posttest responses were more normal than the pretest responses. Although the finding was not statistically significant, males tended to reflect more adventurousness expected of males and females assumed more of the characteristic female patterns, including passivity. Another scale which proports to measure depression, submissiveness, and lack of insight, shows these traits were reduced as marijuana was used.

If the consequences of using marijuana are as negative as this study indicates, then the obvious question to be asked is: Why do people continue to use it? In addition to the support of peer groups, among other reasons, there appears to be a peculiar misinterpretation of the experience after it is over. Perhaps this can be understood by two accounts told by psychiatrist Charles Wahl and reported in E. R. Bloomquist's book *Marijuana*.[6]

> The first is told about verteran physician Oliver Wendell Holmes and involves his experience under nitrous oxide anesthesia. It was administered for a tooth extraction and the experience that Holmes had under the drug was so powerful that when he emerged he believed he had been given a

miraculous revelation of tremendously important social dimensions. Since he could not recapture the vision he persuaded his dentist to reinduce him with the gas so he could know it again. As he was going under he called for a pencil. His face was transfixed by the power of his vision. Before he lost consciousness he wrote his message and when he came to he called for the paper to see what he had written. The paper read: "Lord what a stench!"

Wahl also made a similar experiment on three cannabis users,

> . . . who were convinced, as are other users, that the insights achieved under the influence of the drug transcend anything accessible by other means. The psychiatrist tape-recorded their conversation when they were on a trip. Later, when they played back the tape, one youth was so disappointed and appalled by the verbal drivel coming from the recorder that he sat down and wept.

These accounts are cited because the evidence from this study also leads us to believe that there is a large difference between what users believe happens when "high" and what actually takes place. Regardless of the plausibility of this reasoning, it should still be treated as a hypothesis to be tested by further research. The likelihood that perceptual awareness is enhanced when smoking marijuana and that some degree of this enhancement remains after the experience terminates is yet to be determined, just as possible carryover patterns of anxiety, depression, and reduced contact with reality beg further research.

FOOTNOTES

1. For an extensive report of this study see David Solomon, (ed.), *The Marijuana Papers* (New York: Signet, 1966), see pp. 277-416.

2. William H. McGlothlin and Lois J. West, "The Marihuana Problem: An Overview," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 125: 3 (September, 1968), p. 128.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Sidney Cohen, *The Drug Dilemma* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 53.

5. Solomon, p. 380.

6. E. R. Bloomquist, *Marijuana* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1968), pp. 74-75.

NORM PATTERNS AMONG OCCASIONAL AND REGULAR USERS OF MARIJUANA

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Past studies dealing with the use of marijuana as a euphoriant have been primarily of a descriptive nature, notable exceptions being the La Guardia Report and the work of Howard S. Becker.[1] The earlier studies are primarily subjective personal accounts of marijuana induced intoxciation carried out in an attempt to explain or describe the marijuana experience. Although lacking a controlled empirical base, these reports have added to our knowledge concerned with the use of marijuana in that they have helped form guidelines for more recent empirical investigations. They have described in detail the physical and psychological effects, the social aspects, and the various techniques associated with the use of marijuana.[2]

Becker,[3] and others,[4] have noted that the user of marijuana prefers interacting within a sub-community of other users. In this group setting the user shares the euphoric experiences of being intoxicated, as well as the interest in marijuana. The group is important in that the individual is introduced to the prescribed normative behavior which he must adhere to in order to remain a member of the group.[5] In addition, by participating in the group, the individual strengthens the definitions of his own behavior. Thus, the user learns to accept new values and norms in regard to these behavioral patterns, specifically oriented around the use of marijuana. The attitudes of the group thus serve as a unification factor, making the user part of a homogeneous population.[6]

Of the various methods of ingestion, the most popular technique in the United States is the oral process of smoking the finely chopped dried leaves of the female Cannabis sativa plant. A major aspect of the normative system is real symptoms of marijuana intoxication and to enjoy a successful drug experience.[8] Within these groups there is also a great deal of instruction and supervision, specifically related to the proper ways in which marijuana is to be used.[9] Thus, the acceptance of the various norms of the group helps to maintain conformity within the group.

Previous research regard users of marijuana as a homogeneous social group with regard to shared normative patterns.[10] However, the norm patterns of the occasional user of marijuana have not been studied as often as have those pertaining to the regular user, except in so far as the movement from occasional to regular use occurs.[11] Little research has been conducted on the aspect of possible discrepancies between these two groups with regard to normative patterns. In addition, very little is known about the pervasiveness of these normative patterns and if they are the same or similar within both types of user-groups. It is apparent that increased knowledge about both types of users will aid us in confirming this question of homogeneity of experiences, values, norms, and techniques among all users of marijuana.

Sample and Data Collection Procedure

The individuals used as subjects in this study represented an availability sample of users of marijuana residing in New York City during the first part of 1968. The perceived interactional and normative patterns of the users were identified through the use of a fixed-alternative item questionnaire. The main drawback to this technique of sample selection results from the fact that it is not representative of all users of marijuana. It is therefore important that the characteristics of the sample be described.

The sample of users, both occasional and regular, was white (100%). Among occasional users, subjects ranged from age eighteen past the age of twenty-five, with the mean age being 20.5; twenty-seven were males (84%) and five were females (16%); thirty were single (94%), two were married (6%), and none were divorced or widowed; twenty-three were full-time students (72%) - either high school or college, seven were students and also worked at least part-time (22%), and two were employed full-time and did not attend school (6%). Among regular users, subjects ranged from age seventeen past the age of twenty-five, with the mean age being 20.4; twenty were male (83%) and four were female (17%); eighteen were full-time students (75%) - either high school or college, none were students and worked part-time, one was employed but did not attend school (4%), and five were unemployed (21%).

The author contacted five individuals (henceforth, referred to as administrants) known personally to him to be users of marijuana or to have contacts with others who were users. Three of the administrants were each to contact fifteen subjects to whom questionnaires and self-addressed envelopes were to be delivered. These three administrants were further instructed to contact each of their subjects two weeks after the questionnaires had been delivered in order to insure a high rate of return. The remaining two administrants were given the same basic instructions: to guarantee anonymity and to deliver the questionnaires. However, these two administrants were not to deliver self-addressed envelopes. They were instructed to collect each completed questionnaire and mail them all back at the same time.

The total number of questionnaires delivered was seventy, of which sixty-three were returned (90%). The occasional user of marijuana was defined as one who used marijuana when the opportunity existed, but not on a sytematic daily basis. The regular user was defined as one who used marijuana daily and whose use was systematic. In addition, the user of marijuana was categorized as either occasional or regular on the basis of the following criteria: (1) self-definition of use as either occasional or regular; (2) use of marijuana for a period of not less than six months prior to inclusion as subject; and (3) perceived frequency of use over a period of three weeks immediately prior to consideration as a subject. One questionnaire was returned only partially completed and was excluded from the study. Six respondents viewed themselves as occasional users but actually used marijuana infrequently. These 'part-time' users were excluded from the investigation. Thus, the final sample size was fifty-six (N=56); composed of thirty-two occasional and twenty-four regular users.

Analysis

Occasional and regular users were compared on perceived normative patterns when in an interactional situation with other users of marijuana using chi square analyses. Occasional users differed significantly from regular users with regard to preferring to smoke marijuana in the company of other users ($X^2 = 7.87$, $p < .01$, df = 1). The majority of occasional users (91%) responded that they do in fact prefer to interact with other users when smoking marijuana. Only slightly more than one-half (54%) of the regular users prefer to smoke marijuana when in the company of other users. Almost one-half (46%) of the regular users responded that it does not matter to them if they are in the company of other users when smoking marijuana. Occasional, as opposed to regular users, also prefer to smoke when in the company of at least two or three friends ($X^2 = 7.95$, $p < .02$, df = 2). In line with this finding, regular users also preferred the company of two or three friends when smoking marijuana (66%), but did not view the issue with the same concern as did the occasional users (94%).

Results were analyzed to determine if users share their marijuana with friends when in a group setting where marijuana was being used. It is interesting to note that a significant difference was found with respect to this question ($X^2 = 12.94$, $p < .001$, df = 1). Earlier it was found that the occasional, rather than the regular users, preferred interacting with user-friends. Yet, a majority of the occasional users (69%) stated that they shared marijuana with their friends only some of the time. On the other hand, a majority of the regular users (83%), who earlier were not as concerned as occasional users were with the question of interaction with other users, responded that they always shared their marijuana with their friends.

Significant differences were also found between the two groups with regard to the employed techniques of using marijuana. Both occasional and regular users feel that one must learn the correct procedures in smoking marijuana as a prerequisite to the enjoyment of the drug experience. However, occasional users attach more significance to this aspect of using marijuana than do regular users - 94% of the occasional users, as opposed to 67% of the regular users - ($X^2 = 4.77$, $p < .05$, df = 1). In addition, there appears to be a trend developing as the occasional users are not as willing as are regular users in assisting the novice, an individual who has smoked marijuana infrequently ($X^2 = 3.32$, $p < .10$, df = 1). Thus, the occasional users appear to be less tolerant of others who are attempting to learn the proper method of smoking marijuana.

Occasional users also feel that the best method to employ in achieving a state of euphoria is to consume much more smoke than air when using marijuana ($X^2 = 9.51$, $p < .01$, df = 2). In addition, occasional users (100%), as opposed to regular users (67%), also feel that it is more beneficial to retain all of the inhaled smoke without letting any escape ($X^2 = 9.26$, $p < .01$, df = 1). A significant difference also exists between the two groups with respect to the realization of how much they feel they need to smoke in order to attain a pleasant level of intoxication. Again, occasional users are almost unanimous (94%) in the recognition of their level of intoxication-intake need ($X^2 = 5.93$, $p < .02$, df = 1). Regular users are much more divided in their atttitudes towards this aspect of the use of marijuana (65%).

Discussion and Conclusion

Differences have been found to exist between occasional and regular users with regard to normative behavior and employed techniques of using marijuana. The occasional users tend to be more representative of a homogeneous population with regard to adherence to normative patterns. This trend is evident when viewing the interaction taking place within the marijuana-using groups of occasional users. This suggests, but does not conclusively demonstrate, that the occasional user is more concerned with the question of conformity to group norms than are regular users.

A particularly interesting finding related to the topic of social interaction centers on the sharing of marijuana among friends. It is apparent that the occasional users enjoy interacting with other user-friends when smoking marijuana. Yet, they are willing to share their marijuana with these user-friends only some of the time. On the other hand, regular users are not as concerned with the question of who they prefer to interact with when smoking marijuana. However, when using marijuana in an interactional situation among user-friends, the regular user is more apt to share his marijuana all of the time.

Viewed in terms of normative patterns these trends suggest that regular users share marijuana in order to maintain the bonds of identity which are absent in other aspects of their interaction with user-friends. A number of additional questions may also be raised at this time: Why does this particular pattern emerge among the seemingly less homogeneous group? Are occasional users really the more homogeneous group? Are occasional users over-conformists, striving for social recognition as established users of marijuana? Is sharing of marijuana completely dependent upon the supply at hand, thus influencing the occasional user to be more protective? Is the same type of deviancy from normative patterns sanctioned negatively among both types of user groups? Or, are regular users, because of frequency of use, assumed to have internalized personal controls over their behavior which enables them to remain undetected in an interactional situation with non-users? To what extent are these patterns permanent? There is a need to develop and spell out the orientations of occasional and regular users with regard to their attitudes towards other users, non-users, drug-use patterns, and societal values and norms.

All users of marijuana should not be considered part of one homogeneous social group. Rather, occasional and regular users seem to be members of inclusive marijuana-using groups. Each type of user should be viewed as belonging to a separate and distinct cultural group whose normative behavior is based upon actual frequency of use.

The findings of this exploratory investigation must be considered tentative. The unrepresentativeness of the sample hinders definitive generalizations to all users of marijuana. Therefore, the findings will be most applicable to only those users of marijuana included in the sample. Possible inferences to other users elsewhere in the United States is dependent upon further research along lines similar to those projected in this paper.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mayor's Committee on Marihuana: *The Marihuana Problem in the City of New York* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jacque Cattell Press, 1944); Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: The Free Press, 1963); Howard S. Becker, "Becoming A Marijuana User," *American Journal of Sociology* 59 (November 1953) pp. 235-242.

2. For a listing of major works in this area see: Robert P. Walton, *Marihuana: America's New Drug Problem* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938); Erich Goode, ed., *Marijuana* (New York: Atherton Press, 1969) pp. 185-192; also, David Solomon, ed., *The Marijuana Papers* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1966).

3. Howard S. Becker, "Becoming A Marijuana User," *American Journal of Sociology* 59 (November 1953) pp. 235-242.

4. Addiction Research Foundation, *A Preliminary Report On The Attitudes And Behavior Of Toronto Students In Relation To Drugs* (Toronto, Canada: Addiction Research Foundation, 1969); Mayor's Committee on Marihuana, *The Marihuana Problem in the City of New York* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jacque Cattell Press, 1944); Erich Goode, "Multiple Drug Use Among Marijuana Smokers," *Social Problems* 17 (Summer 1969) pp. 49-64; Walter Bromberg, "Personality Studies of Marijuana Addicts," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 113 (July 1939) p. 5.

5. Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: The Free Press, 1963) pp. 41-78; Howard S. Becker, "History, Culture and Subjective Experience: An Exploration of the Social Bases of Drug-Induced Experiences," *Journal of Health And Social Behavior* 8 (September 1967) p. 169.

6. Erich Goode, "Multiple Drug Use Among Marijuana Smokers," *Social Problems* 17 (Summer 1969) pp. 54-56.

7. Robert P. Walton, *Marihuana: America's New Drug Problem* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938) pp. 47-59.

8. Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: The Free Press, 1963) pp. 46-47.

9. Howard S. Becker, "Becoming A Marijuana User," *American Journal of Sociology* 59 (November 1953) p. 237.

10. Erich Goode, "Multiple Drug Use Among Marijuana Smokers," *Social Problems* 17 (Summer 1969) pp. 54-55.

11. Ibid. , p. 55; also, Howard S. Becker, "Becoming A Marijuana User," *American Journal of Sociology* 59 (November 1953) pp. 235-242.

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN MEXICAN-AMERICANS AND ANGLO-AMERICANS: 1850-1960

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This paper reports the results of an exploratory investigation of intermarriage between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. In focusing on intermarriage, a broader question is also addressed concerning the extent of assimilation of Mexican-Americans into a more typically Anglo-American society. The extent of intermarriage between two populations may be usefully conceptualized as a function of cultural norms which prescribe the choice of a mate and of certain conditions which may make difficult or easy the fulfillment of the cultural prescription.[1] Especially important among the kinds of conditions which may affect incidence of intermarriage are certain demographic and ecological factors: the size of the minority subpopulation relative to the majority population, the sex ratios in the subpopulations, the age compositions of the subpopulations, and the degree of contact between the subpopulations as affected by their distribution in spatial or other patterns. To the extent that intermarriage is predominantly a function of such factors, socio-cultural variables minimally influence races of intermarriage. However, in attempting to assess changes over time in the socio-cultural climate within which intermarriage occurs, it is of crucial significance that one distinguish whether an observed change may be attributable to changes in the demographic and ecological structure of the subpopulations, to changes in socio-cultural factors regulating intermarriage, or to some combination of both. The present paper deals with the question of whether the assimilation of Mexican-Americans into Anglo society as indicated by their intermarriage with white Anglo-Americans has changed comparing selected time periods from the mid-twentieth century with selected time periods from the mid-nineteenth century.

An attempt to answer this research question necessitates that data be collected both on intermarriage between Mexican-Americans and white Anglo-Americans and on basic demographic characteristics of the two ethnic populations for a particular place at different points in time. Because of tis long history as an area containing both Mexican and Anglo ethnic groups, Bexar County, Texas (now metropolitan San Antonio),[2] was selected as the geographical focus of the study. In order to make comparisons of rates of intermarriage between the nineteenth and twentieth century, two time periods from each century were selected for study. The Census years 1850 and 1860 were selected as the nineteenth century time periods to be included in the present report, along with the two twentieth century time periods, 1950 and 1960, for which the Census publications for the Spanish surname population are available. The years 1850 and 1860 were chosen mainly because they were the first two censuses taken in Bexar County, and therefore the nearest chronologically to initial large-scale contact between Mexicans and Anglos. This selection provided the opportunity to see whether ehtnic lines had tightened or loosened over a century of exposure.

Data on marriages were obtained from records of marriage licenses issued in Bexar County for the four year interval around each of the years 1850 and 1860 and for the three year interval around each of the years 1950 and 1960. The list of Spanish surnames compiled for coding purposes by the U.S. Bureau of the Census was used to distinguish brides and grooms of Spanish or non-Spanish surnames. Data on the ehtnic composition of Bexar County by age and sex were tabulated from individual Census returns for 1850 and 1860.[3] These tabulations were based on a one-third sample of households for 1850 and on a ten percent sample of households for 1860. Data for 1950 and 1960 were obtained from published Census reports.[4]

In analyzing intermarriage rates, the differences between rates for individuals and rates for marriages should be carefully observed.[5] In calculating rates of intermarriage, most researchers report rates with respect to a particular social group or category, such as Mexican-Americans. However, the elements of the Mexican-American population exposed to the observed event may alternatively be taken as individuals or marriages. The calculated intermarriage rate will differ depending upon one's choice. For example, the ratio of the number of Mexican-Americans who marry Anglos to the total number of Anglo-exogamous marriages among Mexican-Americans to the total number of marriages. For purposes of clarification, the former will be referred to in the present paper as the rate for individuals and the latter as the rate for marriages, and both will be reported.[6]

As previously noted, intermarriage may be conceptualized as a function of both demographic and socio-cultural variables. Thus, if the extent of intermarriage is to provide any indication of the degree of socio-cultural assimilation of Mexican-Americans, it is necessary that intermarriage rates be adjusted according to the degree to which they are functions of demographic variables. In particular, if that component of an intermarriage rate due to certain demographic factors could be estimated and expressed as an expected rate, then the ratio between it and the observed rate would provide an improved index of intermarriage in that the index would express the magnitude of the actual rate relative to the magnitude of the observed rate. Thus, the smaller the ratio, the greater would be the indication that socio-cultural factors operate to hinder intermarriage.

Two kinds of expected rates of intermarriage will be introduced. One will be an expected rate for marriages and one will be an expected rate for individuals. The two are similar in that both are based on the ethnic composition of the study population but different in that the rate for individuals also controls for the age composition of the ethnic groups. Thus, of the four demographic and ecological variables which were previously noted to make some difference for rates of intermarriage, we are focusing primarily on thenic composition and secondarily on age composition.

Turning to the derivation of an expected rate of exogamy for marriages based on the ethnic composition of the study population, the expected numbers of endogamous and exogamous marriages (or pairings of husbands and wives in varying ehtnic combination) may be viewed as directly proportional to the distribution of grooms and brides by ethnic status among persons marrying during a specified period, assuming no other factors influence the rate of intermarriage.[7] This approach asks: what numbers of various combinations of thenic marriages would be obtained if the ethnic status of the wife did not depend on the ethnic status of the husband, and vice versa? These may readily be calculated following the usual procedures for obtaining expected frequencies in contingency tables. For example, given a population of fifty Spanish-surname males and fifty Anglo males and equivalent numbers of Spanish-surname and Anglo females, all of whom will marry, then the expected number of endogamous marriages for persons of Spanish-surname is twenty-five and the expected number of exogamous marriages is fifty. The expected rate of exogamy for marriages is the ratio of the number of expected exogamous marriages to the total expected number of marriages involving members of the specified ethnic group. In our example, the expected rate of exogamy for Mexican-Americans would be fifty divided by seventy-five, or two-thirds.

The expected rate of exogamy for individuals is analogously based on the ethnic composition of the population. Rather than dealing with expected kinds of marriages based on the distinction by ethnicity of brides and grooms, however, it deals with the proportion of Mexican-American men or women who could be expected to marry Anglos, given the proportion of Anglo women or men respectively in the total female or male population. This approach also allows age to be taken into consideration since age distributions are available for individuals. Thus, for example, the expected individual rate for Mexican-American women is based on the ratio of Anglo males within a certain age range to all males within a certain age range. The same reasoning was applied to the derivation of an expected rate for Mexican-American men. The age ranges utilized are twenty to thirty-four for men and fifteen to twenty-nine for women.

The average numbers of marriages of various ethnic combinations for the four time periods are presented in Table 1. The crude rates of exogamy for marriages are presented in Table 2. These rates tentatively suggest that intermarriage between Mexican-Americans and Anglos has increased from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. In 1850 about ten percent of all marriages among Mexican-Americans were with Anglos whereas in 1960 about twenty percent of all marriages were with Anglos. Also, in the mid-nineteenth century, about one in twenty married Mexican-Americans were married to Anglos whereas in the mid-twentieth century about one in ten were married to Anglos. Overall, the crude rate of exogamy has approximately doubled in a little more than a century.

A research question that relatedly follows is whether this pattern of change is different for Mexican-American men and women. Sex-specific rates of intermarraige may be used to help answer this question and they are presented in Table 3. The results of Table 3 indicate that rates of intermarriage for Spanish-surname women are higher at all time periods than rates for men. As others have found and noted, this pattern is consistent with what one might expect for a subpopulation of social status lower than another.[8]

At this point, one may ask whether differences in the structure of the study population over time might account for the above results. To obtain some perspective on this question, expected rates of intermarriage for marriages and individuals based on the ethnic composition of the study population were calculated as earlier described. These are presented in Table 4. As is shown, there is no marked pattern over time in expected rates of exogamy. The ratios of actual to expected rates of exogamy were also calculated, thus providing indexes of exogamy that explicitly take into consideration the ethnic structure of the population. The numbers, presented in Table 5, indicate the proportion of the expected rate realized by the actual rate. The lower the proportion, the greater the liklihood that socio-cultural constraints depress the actual rate below the mignitude one would expect in an environment where intermarriage is not dependent on their influence. As is shown, the generally increasing proportions over time indicate that exogamy among Mexican-Americans has increased even when viewed in relation to changes over time in the ethnic structure of the study population.

The ratios would also seem to indicate that women marry exogamously more than men. In general, for example, the expected rates for males are less than the expected rates for females, indicating that the actual rates of exogamy for females which are higher than those for males may be primarily due to demographic structure. If the differences between the expected and actual rates are calculated, it is possible to obtain an indication of the proportion of exogamous marriages in addition to those actually occurring which would be necessary to achieve a degree of intermarriage not dependent on socio-cultural factors. These differences are presented in Table 6. As is shown, the proportions are not very different for males and females, thus indicating that non-demographic constraints

Table 1. Numbers and Percentage of Types of Endogamous and Exogamous Marriages for 1850,* 1860,* 1950,** 1960**

	Non-Spanish groom Non-Spanish bride		Non-Spanish groom Spanish wife		Spanish groom Non-Spanish bride		Spanish groom Spanish bride	
Year	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)
1850	56	(48.3)	4	(3.4)	2	(1.7)	54	(46.6)
1860	107	(55.2)	7	(3.6)	2	(1.0)	78	(40.2)
1950	3243	(60.4)	250	(4.7)	103	(1.9)	1770	(33.0)
1960	2800	(55.0)	313	(6.1)	150	(2.9)	1827	(36.0)

*based on a four-year average around 1850 and 1960

**based on a three-year average around 1950 and 1960

Table 2. Crude Rates of Exogamy for Marriages and Individuals Among Mexican-Americans for 1850, 1860, 1950, and 1960

Year	Exogamy Rate for Marriages	Exogamy Rate for Individuals
1850	.100	.053
1860	.103	.055
1950	.166	.091
1960	.202	.112

Table 3. Sex-Specific Rates of Exogamy for Marriages and Individuals Among Mexican-Americans for 1850, 1860, 1950 and 1960

	Rate for Marriages		Rate for Individuals	
Year	Non-Spanish groom Spanish wife	Spanish groom Non-Spanish wife	Non-Spanish groom Spanish wife	Spanish groom Non-Spanish wife
1850	.069	.036	.069	.036
1860	.082	.025	.082	.025
1950	.124	.055	.124	.055
1960	.146	.076	.146	.076

Table 4. Expected Rates of Exogamy for Marriages and Individuals for Mexican-Americans: 1850, 1860, 1950 and 1960

Year	Marriages	Females	Males
1850	.674	.682	.439
1860	.731	.617	.587
1950	.779	.673	.580
1960	.747	.651	.555

Table 5. Ratio of Actual to Expected Rates of Exogamy for Marriages and Individuals for Mexican-Americans: 1850, 1860, 1950, and 1960

Year	Marriages	Females	Males
1850	.148	.101	.082
1860	.141	.133	.043
1950	.213	.184	.095
1960	.270	.224	.136

Table 6. Differences in Expected and Actual Sex-Specific Rates of Exogamy for 1850, 1860, 1950, and 1960

Year	Females	Males
1850	.613	.403
1860	.535	.562
1950	.549	.525
1960	.505	.479

against intermarriage of approximately similar magnitude confronted men and women at all the time periods. This leads to the conclusion that rates of socio-cultural assimilation of Mexican-American men and women have not been substantially different. The broader importance of this result is its illustration of the bearing demographic conditions may have upon intermarriage rates in general, thus indicating the importance of their consideration in research on the nature of socio-cultural assimilation.

FOOTNOTES

1. R.K, Merton, "Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory," Psychiatry, 4 (August, 1941), pp. 361-374.

2. Although the geographical area of Bexar County changed substantially from 1850 to 1950, most of the residents of the county in 1850 as in 1950 were residents of San Antonio.

3. L. Russell (transcriber), 1850 Census of Bexar County, Texas (mimeo) San Antonio, 1966; U.S. National Archives, Microfilm Publications. White and Free Colored Population - 1860, Microcopy No. 653, Roll No. 1288 (Bastrop, Bell, and Bexar Counties of Texas).

4. U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. IV, Special Reports, Part 3, Ch. C, Persons of Spanish Surname. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953; U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC(2) - 1B. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963.

5. H. Rodman, "Technical Note on Two Rates of Mixed Marriage," American Sociological Review, 30 (1965), pp. 776-778.

6. However, as Rodman (1965) notes, the individualy based rate can readily be converted to the marriage-based rate, and vice versa.

7. P. Glick, "Intermarriage and Fertility Patterns Among Persons in Major Religious Groups," Eugenics Quarterly, 7 (1960), pp. 31-38.

8. F. G. Mittlebach and J. W. Moore, "Ethnic Endogamy -- The Case of Mexican-Americans," American Journal of Sociology, 74 (July, 1968), pp. 50-62.

STRENGTH OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY ASPIRATIONS AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH*

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Abstract

Taking off from an assertion of Talcott Parsons that the Spanish American subculture is characterized by the particularism-ascription value pattern, we hypothesized that degree of identification with the Mexican American subculture is inversely related to desire for upward intergenerational mobility. We could locate no findings from past research that offered direct evidence for or against this hypothesized relationship. Data lending itself to a test of this hypothesis were available from a 1967 study of about 600 Mexican American high school sophomores from South Texas. Ethnic identification was indicated by an index of the use of Spanish in a variety of situations. Aspiration for intergenerational mobility was measured through cross-classification of the respondents' long-run occupational aspiration with job of main breadwinner in his family. Comparative analysis of "upwardly mobile" and "nonmobile" respondents by ethnicity, SES, and sex and comparison of ethnicity scores by degree of mobility projected for each SES type by sex did not support our hypothesis. At the same time, in reference to boys, consistent but slight differences in the predicted direction were observed. An extension of our analysis demonstrated that "high" or "low" extremes in ethnicity did not generally differentiate the mobile from the nonmobile.

Preliminary analysis of the variables involved provided some interesting results: about three-fourths of the respondents desired upward generational mobility, girls consistently utilized English to a greater extent than boys, and use of Spanish for all youth differed situationally in a patterned way.

Relevant theoretical implications were drawn and suggestions made for future research.

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Table 1. Distribution of Ethnic Identification Scores of Mexican-American Youth by Sex.

Ethnic Identif. Scores	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)	Total (N=596)
	percent		
(Low)			
5	2	4	3
7	3	6	4
9	4	6	5
11	6	10	9
13	15	14	14
15	18	19	19
17	17	14	16
19	18	13	15
21	11	7	9
23	4	4	4
25	2	3	2
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	1	0	1
Mean	16.1	14.9	15.5

Table 2. Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations: A Cross-Classification of the Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females by Occupation of Respondents' Head-of-Household.[1]

Part A. MALES

Occupation of Respondent's Head-of-Household	No.	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Managerial	Cler.-Sales	Skilled	Operatives	Unskilled	Other	Total
						PERCENT					
High Prof.	16	25	63	--	6	--	--	6	--	--	100
Managerial	41	22	34	5	12	5	15	5	2	--	100
Cler.-Sales	24	25	29	4	8	13	13	4	4	--	100
Skilled	39	8	20	13	8	8	41	2	--	--	100
Operatives	37	--	43	3	5	14	27	5	3	--	100
Unskilled	87	6	36	8	8	9	18	5	10	--	100

Part B. FEMALES

Occupation of Respondent's Head-of-Household	No.	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Managerial	Cler.-Sales	Skilled	Operatives	Unskilled	Other	Total
High Prof.*	24	8	59	4	--	25	4	--	--	--	100
Managerial	49	2	55	4	--	29	10	--	--	--	100
Cler.-Sales	31	--	48	11	--	32	3	3	--	3	100
Skilled	53	7	51	6	2	23	7	2	--	2	100
Operatives	27	--	59	11	--	30	--	--	--	--	100
Unskilled	80	2	49	5	2	34	8	--	--	--	100

*Includes 1 Low Professional

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[1] This table is taken from an unpublished Master's thesis: David E. Wright, Jr., "Occupational Orientations of Mexican American Youth In Selected Areas of Texas", Texas A&M University, August, 1968, p. 80.

Table 3. Mean Ethnic Identification Score of Mexican American Boys and Girls by Intergenerational Mobility Aspiration and Socio-Economic Status.

Job of Main Breadwinner	Projected Mobility			
	Boys		Girls	
	Non-Mobile	Upward Mobile	Non-Mobile	Upward Mobile
	mean score			
Upper Class:				
Professional	12.7	--	14.0	--
Managerial	16.8*	15.0	15.0*	12.0
Middle Class:				
Clerical & Sales	17.0*	14.6	15.2	15.0
Skilled Blue-Collar	15.7	15.8	13.7	13.7
Lower Class:				
Operatives	18.3*	17.2	--	15.3
Unskilled & Unemployed	18.5*	16.0	--	15.7

*Difference between Non-Mobile and Upward Mobile groupings not significant statistically at the .50 level of P using the "t" test for difference between means.

Table 4. Mean Ethnic Identification Score of Mexican American Males by Occupational Aspiration and Main Breadwinner's Job.

Main Breadwinner's Job	Occupational Aspiration							
	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Manager.	Clerical & Sales	Skilled B. C.	Unskilled	Total
	Mean Score							
Professional	14.5	11.8	11.0	15.0	--	--	13.0	12.7
Managerial	16.1	13.4	21.0	17.5	—	15.0	17.0	15.6
Cler. & Sales	14.0	14.7	13.0	17.0	16.3	18.3	16.0	15.4
Skilled B. C.	17.0	15.3	16.6	15.0	15.0	15.9	13.0	15.7
Operatives	--	15.8	15.0	19.0	18.6	18.6	18.3	17.3
Unskilled	15.6	15.1	15.0	15.8	16.8	17.8	18.5	16.4
Farmers	17.0	15.4	15.0	15.0	19.0	19.0	25.0	17.5
TOTAL	15.5	14.7	15.5	16.4	17.1	17.4	18.0	16.1

Table 5. Mean Ethnic Identification Score of Mexican American Females by Occupational Aspiration and Main Breadwinner's Job.

Main Breadwinner's Job	Occupational Aspiration							
	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Manager.	Clerical & Sales	Skilled B. C.	Unskilled	Total
	Mean Score							
Professional	15.0	13.3	9.0	--	15.9	15.0	--	14.0
Managerial	--	12.0	12.0	--	13.0	18.5	--	13.0
Clerical & Sales	--	14.2	19.0	--	16.2	7.0	14.0	15.1
Skilled B. C.	12.0	13.6	8.3	23.0	15.2	13.0	15.0	13.3
Operatives	--	14.8	15.0	--	16.5	--	--	15.3
Unskilled	11.0	15.8	15.4	18.0	16.0	15.0	--	15.7
Farmers	25.0	13.6	--	--	18.1	19.0	--	16.6
TOTAL	13.9	14.2	13.9	19.7	15.9	15.1	14.5	14.8

ETHNIC IDENTITY OF URBAN MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH

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Symbolized by an increased militancy and dissatisfaction with their current subordinate status, Mexican Americans (MA's) have become intensively visible to the policy-makers and administrators within our society. However, as those seek enlightenment concerning that ethnic minority, they are forced to read in the literature (both popular and scientific) the characteristic stereotypes of the MA culture as a transplanted Mexican "folk-culture"[1], homogeneous in values and background, subject to machismo, manana, and Maria (Church) influence within an isolated rural environment. Empirical evidence contradicts these flagrant misrepresentations. MA's in the U.S. are 80% urban residents,[2] of heterogeneous background traditions, nominally reflecting a Catholic dependency,[3] predominantly of the lower-class[4] but with relatively high aspirations to achieve within the larger society.[5] As MA's search for their "new identity"[6] more consistent with the empirical realities of today, the process of self-identity and the criteria used to designate it become crucial to the achievement of that goal.

Self-identity can be ascertained in various ways. An objective approach reflects what outside observers perceive or bestow upon the ethnic group. A projective view determines the identity of the bestowing ethnic group by the manner in which they regard other groups. The subjective approach describes the minority as its own membership perceives it. This latter subjective approach is the focus of this present investigation and provides the framework for it.

In nearly all previous subjective-oriented researches, MA adults have been contacted. Sheldon's study among influential Los Angeles MA male adults found that they preferred to be called 'Mexican-American' by other members of their own ethnic group, but for out-group usage, 'American' was desired. They preferred less the title of 'Mexican-American' and least the moniker 'Mexican' from Anglo sources.[7] Penalosa and McDonagh[8] noted an increasing pride in referring to themselves as 'Mexicans' in contrast to Heller's[9] claim that the upwardly mobile MA's called themselves ' Spanish' to get away from the taint of their Mexican ancestry. The recent Mexican-American Study Project, an exhaustive inquiry into MA identity, revealed that urban MA sample population from Los Angeles preferred the title of 'Mexican' (English) or 'Mexicano' (Spanish). In San Antonio, the sample preferred 'Latin American' (English) and either 'Latino' (Spanish) for middle-class respondants or 'Mexicano' (Spanish) for the lower class.[10] These selected studies reflect adult attitudes. It is questionable that today's urban MA youth who have been subjected to intense socialization through today's mass media, formalized education and other institutionalized contacts with the larger society, reflect these same values. Heller claims that MA's distinguish between titles to be used exclusively by the in-group as opposed to those designed for use with Anglos.

> People of Mexican descent... call themselves Chicanos... They also refer to themselves as Mexicans or Mexicanos, but tend to resent these terms when applied to them by the majority population because of the derogatory connotations attached.[11]

But yet, little is known of the attitudes of MA youth, only of the older generation. By investigating MA youth's self-identification within a single sub-community of El Paso, Texas, the goal is to clarify both the criteria used for ethnic identification as well as the preferences regarding titles used in describing themselves.

- The youth interviews were acquired by professionally trained bi-lingual MA's and compiled in tabular form to facilitate basic descriptions and analysis. The research site, Smeltertown, is a geographically isolated ethnic enclave within the city of El Paso. A four-lane expanded highway recently replaced half of Smeltown's homes and the Rio Grande borders the other sides, limiting further expansion. The younger adults have departed leaving a large proportion of older population. In this respect, it is an abnormal MA enclave. Among the 113 households, only 22 furnished the 37 male youth age 14-21 for this study. These youth were raised in a community domination with urban values. They are bussed to intermediate and high schools and integrated with Anglo students. The majority of Smeltertown adult males work in occupations which provide regular, annual wages, such as the ASARCO smelter and the cement or brick plant.

TABLE 1

ETHNIC IDENTITY TITLES FOR SELECTED REFERENCE GROUPS AS REPORTED BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE YOUTHS (N=37)

(Percentages in parentheses)

	Chicano	Mexican	Mexican-American	Spanish-American	Spanish Speaking	American or U.S. Citizen	Other (Latin etc.)	Non-respondants	Total
I- PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION									
A. You refer to yourself as	7 (19)	2 (5)	9 (24)	1 (3)	8 (22)	8 (22)	2 (5)	-	37 (100)
B. Friends call you a	21 (57)	9 (24)	1 (3)	-	1 (3)	3 (8)	2 (5)	-	37 (100)
C. Those like you in the U.S. are called	8 (22)	3 (8)	3 (8)	3 (8)	7 (19)	10 (27)	1 (3)	2 (5)	37 (100)
II- COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION									
A. Smeltertown residents call themselves	18 (49)	11 (30)	1 (3)	2 (5)	1 (3)	1 (3)	2 (5)	1 (3)	37 (101*)
B. South El Paso residents call themselves	15 (41)	5 (14)	3 (8)	2 (5)	-	3 (8)	7 (19)	2 (5)	37 (100)
C. Smeltertowners refer to South El Paso residents	18 (49)	4 (11)	2 (5)	1 (3)	1 (3)	2 (5)	4 (11)	5 (14)	37 (101*)

*Total not equal to 100% due to rounding off computed percentages.

Table 1 shows a diversity of terms acceptable for identifying "self" and "those like you throughout the U.S.". Appropriate in varying degrees were 'Chicano', Mexican-American', 'Spanish Speaking', and 'American'. Although this could be interpreted as a lack of consensual identity, it is more logical to conclude that it reveals the lack of a single "best" term for this ethnic minority which does not suffer regional or locality disaffection. Peer-related solidarity was manifest in that most resondants were called 'Chicano' by their friends, or 'Mexican' to a lesser extent, within the peer group. There was little affinity noted between smeltertown residents and MA's residing in South El Paso.[12] This is another evidence to contradict the stereotype of ethnic unity and cohesion across lines of class, rural-urban background, skin shade, generation, or length of residence within the U. S.

TABLE 2

PERCEIVED AND PREFERRED ETHNIC TITLES FOR ANGLO USAGE AS REPORTED BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE YOUTHS (N=37)

(Percentages in Parentheses)

	Chicano	Mexican	Mexican-American	Spanish-American	Spanish Speaking	American or U.S. Citizen	Other (Latin etc.)	Non-respondants	Total
I- PERCEIVED ANGLO BESTOWAL									
A. Anglos call you	-	24 (65)	8 (22)	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	1 (3)	1 (3)	37 (101*)
B. Anglos call Smeltertown residents	-	22 (59)	8 (22)	1 (3)	-	2 (5)	3 (8)	1 (3)	37 (100)
C. Anglos call your ethnic group in the U.S.	-	13 (35)	10 (27)	1 (3)	3 (8)	7 (19)	3 (8)	-	37 (100)
D. Anglos call the residents of South El Paso	2 (5)	17 (46)	10 (27)	-	-	2 (5)	1 (3)	-	37 (100)
II- PREFERRED ANGLO USAGE									
A. What do you prefer that Anglos call you	3 (8)	3 (8)	7 (19)	1 (3)	6 (16)	16 (43)	1 (3)	-	37 (100)
B. What prefer that Anglos call people like you	2 (5)	2 (5)	8 (22)	2 (5)	6 (16)	17 (46)	1 (3)	-	37 (101*)

*More than 100 per cent due to rounding off computed percentages

TABLE 3

IDENTITY CRITERIA USED BY SELF AND PERCEIVED USED BY ANGLOS AS REPORTED BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALE YOUTHS (N=37)

As used by respondants for self-identification			Selected ethnic criteria	Attributed to Anglo use by respondants		
No.	Percent	Rank		Rank	No.	Percent
21	57	1	Family Surname	3	19	51
20	54	2	Language	1	25	68
17	45	3	Skin Color	2	22	59
12	32	4	Nationality	4(T)	7	19
3	8	5	Religion	4(T)	7	19
3	8	6	Place of Residence	7	1	3
2	5	7	Level of Income	6	5	14

Two-thirds of Table 2 respondants reported that Anglos think of them as 'Mexicans' and another one-fourth reported that Anglos call them 'Mexican Americans'. These terms, though perfectly appropriate for peer in-group usage, were not those preferred for Anglos use. When asked what the respondants wished Anglos to call them, the most popular selection was 'American', with 'Mexican-American' or 'Spanish Speaking' designated in descending priority.

Among the conspicuously absent terms which MA youth did not want Anglos to use to identify them were 'Chicano' and ' mexican' which terms are freely used between friends within the in-group context. Therefore, it is not the terms themselves which are offensive, but a reaction to the social context in which they are employed. Acceptance or rejection of the bestower of the title coupled with his social relationship to the receiver is deemed the critical element of title preferences,[13] not any inherent quality of the terms themselves. This suggests that superficial efforts to develop some formula for correct ethnic designation, thus seeking to reduce inter-ethnic hostility, overlooks the most vital element--the traditional relationship between the social entities or individuals involved.

In Table 3, the remarkable similarity between the criteria used by MA youths for describing themselves and those ascribed to Anglo use might occur for rather diverse reasons. It could be that Anglo and MA youth standards are truly similar, mostly due to common sources of formal socialization and interaction. Or it could be because the MA respondants completely misperceive the criteria which the Anglo society really uses. But inasmuch as the respondants voluntarily state that this consensus exists, it can be noted that the visible and audible cues for interaction within the larger society-- surname, language and skin color-- are deemed most important for both MA's and Anglos. Although the parents of these respondants considered the criterion of nationality as most important[14] of this list, their children who gained citizenship as an automatic consequence of birth now turn to equality within the social realm. This generational shift in dominant values indicates the need to study attitudes and behavior among today's MA urban youth who will be the militant MA adults of the mid-70's and who are generally an unknown entity at present. No longer can we interpret their adult behavior in the light of patterns evidenced by their parents. This current research is an attempt to provide basic data concerning urban MA youth today as a minor contribution toward a more detailed model of youth identity among this increasingly important minority group.

FOOTNOTES

1- Examples of this are Munro S. Edmonson, Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional Values (New Orleans: Tulane University Press, 1957); William Madsen The Mexican American of South Texas (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1964); Arthur J. Rubel Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City. (Austin: Hogg Foundation, University of Texas Press, 1966)

2- Donald N. Barrett "Demographic Characteristics" pp. 159-199 in Julian Samora (ed) La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966) p. 164.

3- See Margaret Clark Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959) pp. 96-97; Joshua A. Fishman "Childhood Indoctrination for Minority Group Membership" pp. 177-197 in Milton L. Barron (ed) Minorities in a Changing World. (New York: Alfred A Knopf., 1967) p. 184; and Horacio Ulibarri "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics of Spanish-Speaking Migrant and Ex-Migrant Workers in the Southwest" Sociology and Social Research 50 (April, 1966) pp. 362-363.

4- An insightful view of Mexican-American lower-class vs. the Mexican heritage is Edward J. Casavantes A New Look at the Attributes of the Mexican-American. (Albuquerque: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc. 1969)

5- Recent studies certifying the high level of Mexican-American aspirations include David E. Wright Jr., and William F. Kuvlesky "Occupational Status Projections of Mexican-American Youth Residing in the Rio Grande Valley" Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas (April, 1968):177-181; Jerry Borup and Floyd Elliot "Relationship between Social Class and Mexican-American and Anglo-American Background as Variables Contributing to Attitudinal and Behavioral Pattern Differences of University Students" paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association, Lubbock, Texas, May, 1969; Ellwyn R. Stoddard "Core Values and Self-Identification of Mexican-American Youth in an Urban Border Community" paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association, Lubbock, Texas, May, 1969.

6- A forthcoming book by the author entitled Mexican Americans--in Search of a New Self-Identity explores in detail the empirical basis for these criteria and seeks to replace the traditional stereotypes associated with the Mexican-American minority for criteria validated through scientific research. The results are truly a "new identity."

7- Paul M. Sheldon "Community Participation and the Emerging Middle Class" pp. 125-157 in Julian Samora op. cit., pp. 150-151.

8- Fernando Penalosa and Edward C. McDonagh "Social Mobility in a Mexican-American Community" Social Forces 44 (June, 1966) p. 504.

9- Celia S. Heller Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (New York: Random House, 1966) p. 7.

10- Joan W. Moore and Leo Grebler "Ethnic Perception and the Outside World" Unpublished manuscript. (Los Angeles: Mexican-American Study Project, U.C.L.A.) pp. 4-10.

11- Heller, op. cit.

12- South El Paso is the geographical recipient of the new Mexican immigrant. Considered a ghetto by many, it furnishes a low economic standard of living and a point of transition between Old Mexico and the larger Anglo society. Many of its occupants are from rural backgrounds with a style of life not based upon a bureaucratic standard of industrial occupation. As a transitional zone, its income, housing, education etc. is not equal to that of Smeltertown residents even though the racial and linguistic ties are observably present.

13- This principle is elaborated in Ellwyn R. Stoddard "Some Latent Consequences of Bureaucratic Efficiency in Disaster Relief" Human Organization 28 (Fall, 1969) especially pp. 182, 187-188.

14- As reported in Ellwyn R. Stoddard "The United States-Mexican Border as a Research Laboratory" Journal of Inter-American Studies 11 (July, 1969) p. 487.

A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF ABILITY GROUPING ON THE INFORMAL STRATIFICATION STRUCTURE AND FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATIONS OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS*

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Ability grouping, the process of designating individual students on the same grade level into work groups based on their ability to handle specific subject matter, has been in effect in the school systems for several decades. Empirical studies relating to the effect of ability groupings as an imposed stratification system on social relationships, and thus popularity, are minimal. Two hypotheses were derived to study these relationships:

Ho_1: There is no significant difference between the formal, imposed ability subgroup stratification in the fourth grade class and the children's informal social stratification.

Ho_2: There is no significant difference between the formal associations in the imposed stratification of ability subgroups of fourth grade students and the informal friendship associations of these same children.

An analysis of the few empirical studies to date indicates that those dealing with stratification show a high correlation between high ability and popularity. Studies dealing with friendship associations, on the other hand, were divided, some indicating that students chose their friends from their own ability group and others indicating that students chose friends from the bright group rather than their own. These authors, therefore, decided to conduct an empirical study using fourth grade students. A questionnaire in which students were asked to name their three best friends and to rank their classmates according to popularity was used in two school systems, one employing ability grouping and the other not employing ability grouping. The students in the ability grouped classroom were actually involved in ability groups for part of the school day. For a short period of time, the students were grouped into reading ability groups. Hereafter, the ability grouped class will be referred to as the experimental group. The non-ability grouped class was never divided into ability groups except in a hypothetical list composed by the teacher which was used by the researchers. Hereafter, the non-ability grouped class will be referred to as the control group.

Stratification data were gathered by asking the students to rank their classmates into three categories: most well-liked, in between-liked, not-so-well-liked.

Controls exercised by the researchers included the fact that students were asked to name friends in the fourth grade only, in order that the researchers could evaluate the data, a factor which could have affected students' choices. Another control factor concerned the questions on friends who attended the same church and who lived in the same neighborhood as the respondents in order that possible important influences on friendships could be taken into account. A factor which could not be controlled, because of the necessity of finding both an ability grouped class and a non-ability grouped class within an accessible time and distance range of Texas A&M, was the rural-urban difference between the two schools involved.

Results: Stratification - Ho_1

1. A mean score of popularity (social acceptability) was tallied by assigning weights of three points for each vote a student received in the first group, two points for each vote in the second, and one point for each vote in the third. The choice of these weights was made in order to allow computation of a grade-point average type score.

2. The scores were then correlated with H (high group), M (middle group), and L (low group) in the following manner: H - 2.334-3.0, M - 1.668-2.333, and L - 1.000-1.667. The divisions are arithmetic thirds between one and three.

3. Students were given a second letter classification according to their placement in the H, M, or L reading ability categories, which were defined by the ability groups in the experimental school and by a grouped list of students' abilities obtained from the teacher in the control school. Percentages were computed (See Table I).

Table I. Breakdown of Popularity Levels by Ability Group.

Popularity Groups	Ability Grouped Class (Experimental)		Non-Ability Grouped Class (Control)	
	%	Raw Data	%	Raw Data
		(N=11)		(N=4)
High Popularity Group:				
Proportion from high ability group	64	(7)	75	(3)
Proportion from middle ability group	27	(3)	25	(1)
Proportion from low ability group	9	(1)	0	(0)
		(N=17)		(N=19)
Middle Popularity Group:				
Proportion from high ability group	29	(5)	16	(3)
Proportion from middle ability group	42	(7)	58	(11)
Proportion from low ability group	29	(5)	26	(5)
		(N=3)		(N=3)
Low Popularity Group:				
Proportion from high ability group	33.3	(1)	33.3	(1)
Proportion from middle ability group	33.3	(1)	33.3	(1)
Proportion from low ability group	33.3	(1)	33.3	(1)

In the high popularity groups of both the experimental and control classes, there is a much greater percentage of high ability students than of any other ability level students. In fact, with decreasing ability level, there is a sharp decrease of membership in the high popularity group (See Table I). Likewise, in the middle popularity groups of both the experimental and control classrooms, there is a much greater percentage of middle ability students than of any other ability level students. The exception to this correlation is in the low popularity group of either class, where members of all ability groups are present in exactly the same proportions.

Ho_1 is, therefore, not rejected because there is a high correlation between popularity and ability. However, it is important to note that this correlation exists for both the experimental and control classes. The conclusion may be drawn, therefore, that popularity is affected by ability, whether or not the students are ability grouped.

Results: Friendship Associations - Ho_2

Table II. Friendship Choices Outside Ability Group.

	Ability Grouped Class (Experimental)		Non-Ability Grouped Class (Control)	
	%	Raw Data	%	Raw Data
Total	56	(45 of 80)	53	(35 of 66)
Friends of high group outside high ability group	25	(9 of 36)	55	(10 of 18)
Friends of middle group outside middle ability group	76	(16 of 21)	42	(15 of 36)
Friends of low group outside low ability group	87	(19 of 23)	83	(10 of 12)
Direction of Choices Outside Ability Group				
High group friends in middle group	11	(4)	44	(8)
High group friends in low group	14	(5)	11	(2)
Middle group friends in high group	52	(11)	39	(14)
Middle group friends in low group	24	(5)	3	(1)
Low group friends in high group	61	(14)	25	(3)
Low group friends in middle group	26	(5)	58	(7)

While the total percentage of choice of friends by a student outside that student's ability group is nearly the same in both experimental and control classrooms, a breakdown of friendship choices that are outside the ability group by ability group indicates that in the high ability group, there is a much lower percentage of choice of friends outside the high ability group in the experimental classroom than in the control classroom. In the control classroom, however, the middle group has a lower percentage of choice of friends outside the ability group than does the middle group in the ability grouped classroom.

In a further breakdown of friendship groups, there is a strong indication that friendship associations in the experimental class which are outside the ability group tend to focus toward the high group. In the control class, friendship choices outside the ability group tend to focus toward the middle group.

For example, the percentage of friendship choices outside the high group is almost twice as high in the control class as in the experimental class, indicating that the high group in the experimental classroom is more exclusive in their friendship associations than the high group in the control classroom. In contrast, the percentage of friendship choices outside their ability group for the middle group in the experimental classroom is almost twice that of the middle group in the control classroom, indicating a greater exclusiveness regarding friendship in the middle group for the control class than the experimental class. In both classes, however, there is a high percentage of friendship choice outside their ability group for the low ability group.

In a further breakdown of these percentages of friendship associations outside each ability group, there is a high percentage of friendship choice outside their ability group of the middle and low ability students toward the high ability group in the experimental classroom, while there is a high percentage of friendship associations outside their ability group in the high and low ability group toward the middle ability group in the control class.

Therefore, hypothesis two was rejected as, in fact, students do not generally tend to choose their friends from their own ability group.

Results: Influence of Neighborhood and Church

The joint effect of the church and the neighborhood on friendship associations outside an ability group is much higher in the experimental class than in the control class.

Table III. Friendship Associations Outside Ability Group for Each Ability Group Which are Influenced by Church and/or Neighborhood.

Ability Groups	Ability Grouped Class (Experimental)		Non-Ability Grouped Class (Control)	
	%	Raw Data	%	Raw Data
High group	89	(8 of 9)	20	(2 of 10)
Middle group	44	(7 of 16)	33	(5 of 15)
Low group	75	(15 of 20)	70	(8 of 10)

The conclusion may be drawn, therefore, that the church and/or neighborhood act as mediating influences on the tendency of the high ability group of the experimental class to be exclusive. It might be hypothesized that the high effect of church and neighborhood on the low ability group of both classes indicates that the low ability students are utilizing these extracurricular activities as an access to friendship associations which are inaccessible to them in the school context.

Discussion:

This study upheld the findings of previous research that high ability and popularity are correlated, although this study indicates that the correlation exists in a non-ability grouped as well as in an ability grouped class. Our conclusion concerning friendship associations was consistent with those previous studies which indicated that students do not choose their friends from their own ability group. Further study would ideally be restricted to a single community type.

Discussion: Implications for Theory

In an evaluation of the classroom as a social system, both the roles and role expectations and the individual need dispositions have to be considered, since the goals of the social system must be carried out and "the roles and expectations will be implemented by the efforts of people with needs...Within this framework, this then might be conceived as the ideal type model of the classroom as a social system: (a) Each individual identifies with the goals of the system so that they become part of his own need; (b) Each individual believes that the expectations held for him are rational if the goals are to be achieved; (c) He feels that he belongs to a group with similar emotional identifications and rational beliefs."[1]

Both the experimental and control classrooms are social systems composed of goals, roles, role expectations, and need dispositions. To imply that a structured stratificational system (ability grouped) would enforce a stronger goal-orientation on the classroom structure than a non-structured stratificational system (non-ability grouped) is erroneous. It is simply that the two social systems have different goals. Both the formally-structured experimental class and the non-structured control class are oriented toward a goal of high academic achievement, indicating that students perceive their roles accurately with respect to the system's goals. They stratify the high ability students in the high social stratum. The curriculum, which is the means to the goals of the systems, focuses in the formally-structured system on each ability group, thereby giving prestige to the highest ability group, whereas in the non-formally-structured system, the curriculum focuses on the inclusive middle group.

Fortifying the role-expectation in a high-ability, goal-oriented system, friendship choices of students in the high ability group are exclusive. Likewise, in the control class, where the goal-orientation is focused on the average student, there is a high exclusiveness in relation to the other ability students of the average student. But the fact that all friendship choices are not consistent universally with the goals of the system indicates the role need dispositions play in the social system.

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1. Jacob W. Getzels and Herbert A. Thelen, "The Classroom as a Unique Social System," Teaching: Vantage Points for Study, Ronald T. Hyman, ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1968) p. 226.

*This paper was condensed for presentation at the Southwestern Sociological Association meetings, Dallas, March 26-28, 1970. The original, complete text including all sources is available on request from W. P. Kuvlesky, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University.

RESIDENTIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS OF SUBURBS' PROBLEMS

M. B. Flippen, III and Raymond Teske, Jr.

In recent decades, the United States has experienced an increasing population migration from the hinterlands to the urban areas of the nation. This immigration has produced an expansion of the metropolitan center, including the suburbs. Subsequently, older residential suburbs, as well as satellite cities, have found themselves encompassed by this expansion. Boskoff has noted that many of the suburbs have also experienced a rapid influx of new residents seeking an escape from the central city, or perhaps a return to a more "rural" style of living.[1]

Banfield and Grodzins have found that, in many cases, rapid population growth in the older residential suburbs has led to a number of problems, not the least of which is a conflict of interests.[2] Zimmer and Hawley also cited needs very similar to those observed in the present study, which were additional paved streets, extended sewer lines, increased municipal services, etc. Tableman has noted other situations, which were lacking in police and fire protection, inadequate water supplies and poor planning and/or zoning.[3] Quite often these facilities are not available due to a lack of financial resources. In some cases, the function of the local government in regard to such matters as building codes and inspections, restrictions concerning stray animals, etc., is lacking in effectiveness. Other matters which have become more pertinent due to the increased population, such as police communications, are in need of attention.[4] The editors of Fortune magazine have noted that:

> "...within ten years there is likely to be a brutal dissillusionment for thousands of suburbanites. The older upper income suburbs...have already gone through the worst of their growing pains; the new mass suburbs, however, have not, and their residents have been living, quite literally, on borrowed time. The younger married couples...have been seeking an economic impossibility; they want a high level of municipal services, and they want low taxes. In many suburbs, taxes have already climbed very close to city levels — yet still lacking are such city services as trash collection."[5]

The Problem: Having experienced the above situation, a conflict of interests frequently arises among the inhabitants of the residential suburb. The "old" suburbanites have seen their traditional community suddenly transformed. New ideas and new attitudes accompany the influx of residents. Furthermore, the established residents are confronted with the needs and desires of individuals who have had no part in the previous development of the community. Yet, the new residents require, and perhaps demand, increased and frequently additional facilities.

The new residents, on the other hand, having now invested in a home, as well as a new community, find this new community lacking in many of the municipal facilities previously mentioned. Therefore, it can readily be seen how political conflict between the old and new residents often arises.[6]

It should also be pointed out that in many cases, the residential suburb is not in a financial position to eliminate various municipal deficiencies (assuming, of course, that these deficiencies are recognized as such by the residents). By nature, the residential suburb has little or no industry to help provide tax revenue. Even though the population has increased, the ensuing tax revenue may not be enough to offset increased administrative costs, much less provide new services.

It would appear imperative, then, that if municipal facilities are to be improved and/or increased that the suburbanites would have to seek assistance outside of the suburb. Several suggested approaches to outside assistance have been made: among these are (1) sharing of municipal services with other suburbs, (2) cooperation with the central city, and (3) county, or other governmental, assistance. However, many of the "old" suburban residents hesitate to seek outside assistance for fear of diluting the autonomous nature of their community's government.

The problem, then, is to define solutions for the solving of problems confronting older residential suburbs due to rapid population growth as well as to establish those avenues of assistance which are most amenable to the general population.

Need for the Study: In view of the preceding discussion, it would appear that solutions to the "problems" of these residential suburbs are not always forthcoming. Furthermore, even though solutions — other than those of an autonomous nature — present themselves, they are not always considered due to a conflict of interests among the "old" and "new" residents.

Therefore, the researchers perceived a need for a study to establish the attitudes of the residents toward various suggested solutions to problems of the suburbs, as well as to define which segments of the general population were most amenable to the various suggested solutions.

Objectives of the Study: More specifically, the study was designed to establish the following: (1) which solutions to the problems of the suburbs are most acceptable to (a) the "old" suburban residents, (b) the "new" suburban residents and (c) the central city residents; (2) whether a relative degree of difference in attitudes toward suburbs exists among the three residential groups; and (3) whether or not the attitudes of these three groups are such as to support the implementation of non-autonomous solutions to the suburb's problems.

Research Design: In order to investigate the situations suggested in the preceding material the researchers selected a residential suburb which had experienced recent rapid population growth and which also evidenced many of the suggested "problems" or "deficiencies". Among those problems noted by the investigators were poor street repair, inadequate garbage collection, volunteer fire department, no control over animals (dogs) running loose, and inadequate sewerage disposal facilities as well as, in this particular community, disequilibrium in the political system. It should be noted that in this study the researchers established the nature of the "problems" through observation and the news media and did not seek to establish whether the residents viewed these situations as problems.

Population of the suburb selected was approximately 2100. The suburb had no industry and was directly adjacent to a central city with a population of approximately 100,000. Another residential suburb of approximately the same size was within one mile and was also adjacent to the central city.

The investigators selected for sampling, neighborhoods in the suburb and central city which appeared to be socio-economically homogenous. Analysis of the data revealed a head of household mean income of $10,380 for the respondents in the suburb and $13,750 for the respondents in the central city. Although there was some variation evidenced, the researchers were satisfied that the mean incomes were approximate enough to be considered homogenous.

The researchers constructed a questionnaire consisting of three parts. The preliminary section requested general information concerning the respondent and his/her family. Part two was designed to establish the respondent's attitudes toward the various suggested solutions to suburbs' problems. Part three consisted of a Likert type attitude scale designed to measure attitudes toward suburbs in general.

Questionnaires were destributed by the researchers to residents in the selected neighborhoods. The nature of the study was explained to those residents found to be at home. The questionnaire was left with the respondent to be completed and returned in a stamped envelope furnished by the researchers. Of fifty questionnaires left with suburban residents, twenty-one were returned; eighteen of thirty-one left with central city residents were returned.

Hypotheses: The following hypotheses were constructed to investigate the attitudes of the suburb and central city residents toward suggested solutions of the suburbs' problems.

Hypothesis 1: individuals who have resided in a residential suburb for a substantial length of time will favor autonomous solutions to the problems of that suburb as opposed to non-autonomous solutions.

Hypothesis 2: individuals who have recently moved to a residential suburb will favor non-autonomous solutions to the problems of that suburb as opposed to autonomous solutions.

Hypothesis 3: residents of the central city will exhibit a laissez-faire attitude toward solutions of suburbs' problems.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

The following presentation reports the data collected in the study of resident attitudes toward suggested solutions of suburbs' problems.

Attitude Scale: A Likert type scale, consisting of sixteen questions, was constructed by the researchers to measure attitudes toward suburbs in general. Item analysis showed all of the questions to have sufficient discriminating power. In addition, a split-half coefficient of reliability of .88 indicated a relatively high level of test reliability.

Based on the above data, the researchers accepted the attitude scale as adequate for investigating attitudes toward suburbs. However, due to the small number of respondents, as well as the non-randomness of the sample collected, the researchers will not generalize from these findings.

Possible scores on the attitude scale ranged from a low of sixteen (favorable) to a high of eighty (unfavorable). Analysis of the scores revealed a mean score of 36.86 for the twenty-one suburb respondents as compared to a mean score of 45.12 for the eighteen central city respondents, indicating a relatively more positive attitude among the suburban residents. Further analysis by means of the two-tailed t-test showed the mean difference of 8.26 to be significant beyond the .01 level.

Following this the suburban respondents were divided into two categories: (1) residents of the suburb for two years or less and (2) residents of the suburb for over two years. The six residents who had lived in the suburb for two years or less evidenced a mean score of 43.29. Mean score for residents of over two years was 36.64. The mean score difference of 6.65 was tested by means of the two-tailed t-test and found to be significant beyond the .05 level, indicating a relatively more negative attitude toward suburbs on the part of those who had lived there two years or less.

Respondent's Attitudes toward Suggested Solutions: Each questionnaire contained a brief explanation of some of the problems facing various residential suburbs today. In addition, several suggested solutions to the problems were presented. Solutions described were (1) central city-suburb cooperation, (2) county assistance, (3) annexation by the central city, (4) cooperation with other suburbs, (5) the suburb should solve its own difficulties, and (6) other. Respondents were asked to indicate that one solution which they most favored, and that one solution which they least favored. With regard to this procedure, the writer would note that some respondents marked all solutions listed as most or least favored. In addition, some marked only the solution they favored most. Therefore, the reader will notice some discrepancy in the total responses reported as those marking all of the solutions were not included in the final analysis of data.

Suburb Residents, Two Years or More: Hypothesis one stated that individuals who have resided in a residential suburb for a substantial length of time will favor autonomous solutions to the problems of that suburb as opposed to non-autonomous solutions.

Findings: Of the ten respondents indicating that solution which they favored most, eighty percent felt that the suburb should solve its own difficulties and twenty percent favored central city-suburb cooperation. None of the other solutions were selected. Nine respondents indicated that solution which they favored least. Of those, eighty-nine percent least favored annexation by the central city and eleven percent least favored county assistance.

On the basis of this data the researchers concluded that suburb residents of two years strongly favored autonomous solutions to suburb problems. Therefore, the hypothesis was accepted.

Suburb Residents, Two years of Less: Hypothesis two stated that individuals who have recently moved to a residential suburb will favor non-autonomous solutions.

Findings: Six respondents indicated that solution which they favored most. Of those, thirty-three percent favored central city-suburb cooperation, thirty-three percent said that the suburb should solve its own difficulties. None favored annexation or cooperation with other suburbs.

Five of the respondents indicated that solution which they favored least. Of those, eighty percent least favored annexation and twenty percent least favored cooperation with other suburbs.

On the basis of these findings the researchers concluded that there is some indication that these residents favor non-autonomous solutions; however, the results are not strongly indicative. Therefore, the results are viewed as inconclusive with regard to the hypothesis.

Central City Residents: Hypothesis three stated that residents of the central city will exhibit a *laissez-faire* attitude toward solution of suburbs' problems.

Findings: Thirteen respondents indicated that solution which they would most favor. Of those, 46.1 percent favored central city-suburb cooperation, 7.7 percent favored county assistance and 23.1 percent favored annexation. Together, these accounted for 76.9 percent of the respondents. Only 15.4 percent said that the suburb should solve its own problems and 7.7 percent indicated "other".

The respondents indicated that solution which they least favored. Fifty percent least favored county assistance, thirty percent annexation, and ten percent said that they least favored the suburb solving its own problems. In addition, ten percent responded with "other".

On the basis of these findings the researchers concluded that a majority of the central city respondents were in favor of assisting suburbs to solve their problems. Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A review of literature indicated that suburban residents are reluctant to forsake the complete autonomy of their government in seeking solutions to municipal problems. However, the writers feel that the present study has provided new insight into this matter which indicates a need for re-evaluation.

Even though the attitude scale indicated a relatively more negative attitude toward suburbs on the part of central city residents, the data reveals a substantiall willingness on the part of these respondents to assist the suburbs in solving their problems. The researchers were unable to find any other studies concerning this subject and subsequently no precedent was found to either support or question the findings.

One of the objectives of the present study was to determine whether or not the attitudes of the three residential groups are such as to support the implementation of non-autonomous solutions to the suburbs' problems. Based on the findings in the present study the writer would suggest that such solutions would be amenable to the newer suburbanites and the central city residents. In that the older suburbanites frequently control the governmental structure, the seeking of non-autonomous solutions would probably not be forthcoming unless enough of the newer residents pressed for change.

As for the central city residents, they would apparently be willing to assist the suburbs. If, in fact, the problems of the suburbs were to become a problem to the central city, the residents would more than likely support the local government's attempts to assist the suburbs.

According to the present study, that solution most likely to be accepted is central city-suburb cooperation. Neither annexation nor county assistance appear to be strongly favored, with annexation being the least favored by all residential groups. Also, cooperation with other suburbs received no apparent support.

With reference to implications for future research, the writer would note that the present study has been limited by the small sample size; however, the findings have provided new insight into the solutions of problems of residential suburbs. Therefore, the writer feels that further investigation, based on a substantially larger sample, is warranted. Such an investigation should also have the suburbanites identify suburban problems, or at least what they feel to be problems of the suburb.

* This paper was condensed for presentation at the Southwestern Sociological Association meetings, Dallas, March 26-28, 1970. The original, complete text including all sources is available on request from Ed McLean, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University.

FOOTNOTES

1. Alvin Boskoff, The Sociology of Urban Regions (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962) p. 139.

2. Edward C. Banfield and Morton Grodzins, Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958) p. 26.

3. Betty Tableman, "How Cities Can Lick the Fringe Problem", Public Management XXXIX (March, 1952) p. 52.

4. Banfield and Grodzins, op. cit., pp. 19-22.

5. Editors of Fortune, The Exploding Metropolis (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958) pp. 50-51.

6. Ibid., p. 20.

STRATIFICATION IN THE ISRAELI KIBBUTZ

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The communal agricultural settlements of Israel, known as kibbutzim, have become a popular example of a virtually classless society. Recent research has revealed, however, that social strata are beginning to emerge in the older kibbutzim. In the literature to date[1] the theoretical interpretation of this occurrence is approximately as follows: 1)The need for efficient production results in a functional differentiation of tasks; 2)The differentiation of tasks is accompanied by a parallel differentiation of personnel; 3)The personnel so differentiated form a hierarchy of social strata, which are characterized by different functions, rewards and attitudes.

While such propositions tell us what happened in the kibbutz, they do not tell how or why. The questions to which this paper addresses itself are, accordingly, 1)What mechanisms operating in a communal society contribute to the emergence of stratification? and 2)What motivates people dedicated to the ideal of total social equality to allow inequalities to emerge? I will use some propositions of George Homans[2] as an analytical tool to help answer these questions. These propositionsare based on elementary economics and behavioral psychology, and are expressed in terms of the relative value or cost to an individual of the consequences of his activities. First, a description of the changes which have occurred in the kibbutz.

Two major ethical postualtes form the basis of the kibbutz value system: productive labor and collectivism. In its ideal state, the kibbutz was to be guided by the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." No one is supposed to be privileged with respect to material or social rewards, regardless of his functional position in the commune or his ability to contribure equally to its economic development. The emergence of elite groups and powerful individuals is theoretically avoided by the principle of task rotation and frequent re-election of administrative officials and managers.

In reality, these mechanisms work less than perfectly. As the need for more efficient production grows, jobs are given out increasingly on the basis of worker capability rather than on the principle of task rotation or worker preference. Members assigned to the more specialized and rewarding jobs become experts, and become attached to their jobs and reluctant to give them up. Correspondingly, less skilled workers, because of their expectations of equal treatment, become dissatisfied with repeated assignments to menial tasks which carry little prestige or intrinsic enjoyment.

The work-assigner and others in managerial positions face the dilemma of being criticized on the one hand for not acheiving productiongoals, and on the other for discriminating against less expert workers in giving out preferred jobs. Since managers do not have formal power to fire workers or withhold wages, most kibbutz members are reluctant to assume such positions. This leaves only a few who are both able and willing--those who can tolerate constant criticism. The same individuals are elected time and again to important positions and thereby become an elite managerial group, just as the most capable workers are assigned repeatedly to certain jobs and eventually constitute an elite "expert" group. Task-rotation and frequent re-election of officers, while nominally adhered to, fail to work out in practice.

The elite groups, because their work is intrinsically interesting and challenging, carries prestige, and because they see the products of the harvest as direct results of their own efforts, tend to be the most satisfied members of the kibbutz. They find the existing structure quite adequate. "These special life conditions tend to create a special 'managerial Weltanschauung' among the upper stratum. They experience less of the strain and dependency and more of the pleasures of collective living."[3] They feel that changes in the direction of more private housing, more cash payment for the individual purchase of luxuries, and so on, are contrary to the collective principles of the kibbutz, and the7 cannot understand why the rank and file feel a need for more privacy and personal possessions.

The rank and file, on the contrary, do not identify so completely with the group acheivements since their work does not give them a great deal of control over group matters or sense of personal acheivement. "A pressure for higher material rewards comes from the rank and file who are underprivileged in 'humor and diversion' as well as in 'self-respect and ego-expansion.' The former type of rewards is sought by them as a compensation for the lack of the latter two."[4]

Thus we see that in the struggle to achieve a high levle of production, some of the equality in the soical strucutre is sacrificed. All work is not in fact equally satisfying and prestigious, and the incumbents of certain positions acquire elite status. Those occupying elite status positions tend to view kibbutz life differently from those in the rank and file, and their attitudes towards change are more conservative.

Since Homans' propositions are based on the notion of the motivation of human behavior by rewarding or costly consequences, we must at this point describe the reward structure of the kibbutz. We can reasonably infer that there are two main types of rewards available in the kibbutz: Social rewards, or those which satisfy the need for love, security, approval, and so on; and individualistic rewards, or those which satisfy the need for autonomy, personal acheivement, authority, variety, and so on. It is obvious that the reward structure in the kibbutz is heavily weighted on the social side, for most members, and practically empty on the individualistic side. Satisfaction of individualistic needs is rare except among members of elite groups.

If human behavior is motivated by rewards and costs, how does this contribute to the emergence of stratification in a previously unstratified society? Assume that at a given point in time the group as a whole is not satisfied with the rewards it is reaping from its production efforts. Suppose, for example, they are not even producing enough food to feed themselves adequately--a not uncommonproblem in newly formed kibbutzim. In such a situation, each individual would be dissatisfied with the level of production. Now, one of the activities which has yielded efficient production in the past is the election of a particularly capable man to a managerial position. By Proposition 1 (If in the past the occurrence of a particular stimulus-situation has been the occasion on which a man's activity has been rewarded, then the more similar the present stimulus-situation is to the past one, the more likely he is to emit the activity, or some similar activity, now.)[5]

they will re-elect him to the same or a similar position, since they believe that if this action resulted in a high level of production in the past, it will yield the same reward again. By Propositions 2 (The more often within a given period of time a man's activity is rewarded, the more often he will repeat the activity)[6] and 3 (The more valuable to a man the reward gained by a particular activity, the more often he will emit the activity)[7] they will re-elect him often, as long as he continues to perform his job productively, as long as productivity is valuable to the group, and as long as there is a scarcity of able leaders.

Through this process of re-election of managers (or re-assignment of "experts" to the same jobs), certain individuals become specialized in their roles. Apparently satisfaction on the part of the group with increased productivity has not reached the level of satiation; that is, the cost of tolerating the existence of an elite group is not great enough to overbalance the reward of a high level of production. The kibbutz is still making a profit by acquiescing in the perpetuation of the elites it has called into existence. A prediction can be made that if the need for high production should ever diminish, then the kibbutz would find it profitable, by propositions 4,5, and 6, to re-establish the rotation of tasks and offices. (Proposition 4: The greater the amount of a reward a man has received, or the more satisfied he is with the reward, and the less valuable it becomes to him,[8] Proposition 5: Satiation with a particular reward makes the foregone value of an alternative one relatively greater.[9] Proposition 6: The less a man's profit on a particular unit-activity, the more likely he is to change his next unit to the alternative.[10])

Now consider the situation from the leader's point of view. We have shown that kibbutz life tends to frustrate individualistic needs. A leader, however, because of his unusual position and experiences, finds greater gratification of this need than do the rank and file. That is to say, his position as leader yields the individualistic reward. Since he was relatively deprived of this reward before, by propositions 2 and 3 the reward is valuable to him, and he is willing to incur the cost of leadership repeatedly. The cost of leadership is the foregone value of the social reward; a position of authority separates a man somewhat from the communal society. "Authority over a man and equality with him are incongruent."[11] By propositions 4 and 5, the longer he stays in office the more the foregone social reward increases in value for him, and the less value the individualistic reward holds. By proposition6, the less his profit from a particular activity, the more likely he is to change his next unit to an alternative activity.

The most obvious alternative in this case--the one which will yield the social reward--is to step down from the position of leadership. In fact this does not always happen. Homans explains this apparent contradiction in terms of a rise in the level of aspiration.[12] Briefly, this means that if a man's investments of skill, seniority, self-esteem, go up, he wants more reward--more of the same reward--for his activity because he thinks he's worth more now. This may explain why the kibbutz expert hangs on to his specialized job, even though it may make him an object of resentment among the rank and file. As productive work is highly valued in the kibbutz, one may expect that the kibbutz members would rarely become satiated with the rewards it carries.

There should not be any increase in the level of aspiration to managerial positions, however, since such jobs are considered secondary, important as they are. Even if the group is willing to re-elet a man to office, why does he continue to accept the position after its costs begin to outweigh its rewards? The propositions do not explaine this circumstance. I can only speculate that those leaders who are willing to stay in office have personalities which do allow them to experience a rise in their level of aspiration, but they do not reveal this in interviews because such ambition is contrary to the values of kibbutz life.

Although the leader does not relinquish his position, he still suffers some deprivation of the social reward. In order to increase his profit from the position, therefore, he performs activities which will increase the social reward, but does not at the same time cease emitting the activity which yields the individualistic reward. Specifically, he defends the communal values when they are challenged (e.g., opposes individualistic innovations for the group as a whole, because equality is very important to him. Thus we see that the elite group becomes conservative with regard to social change because the system manages to satisfy both their social and individualistic needs quite will as it is. Any change might threaten their satisfaction.

The rank and file, on the other hand, are quite satisfied with the social reward. By proposition 5 , the alternative (individualistic) reward has great value for them. By proposition 6, they are likely to change their activities from conformity to the communal norms to activity which will satisfy the individualistic need. This explains their agitation for changes which will result in the alternative reward, such as personal choice in the realm of private property, more privacy in housing and eating arrangements, and more choice in career and educational opportunities.

These propositions have aided in understanding how the stratification process progresses as a result of individual motivations. We have seen that the amount of unsatisfied need a person has for sociability or individuality varies according to his functional position in the social structure of the kibbutz. The amount of need a person has for some type of reward conditions his attitude towards social change. In this way, attitudes become differentiated by social position.

There are a number of serious difficulties in working with Homans' propositions in their present form. First, the nature of "rewards" must be specified by the researcher. Second is the vagueness of the concept of profit; even if we know what the rewards are, at what precise point does an activity stop yielding a profit? Finally, the researcher has to identify the "alternative activity" among a host of logical possibilities. These defects in the propositions make it too easy for the researcher to fit the facts to the theory; if an actor chooses a certain course of action, we can label it, by hindsight, a rewarding activity. If he changes his activity, we conclude that his profits must have decreased. The predictive power of the propositions is, therefore, very low, because of the near impossibility of predicting the point at which profits decrease and the nature of the alternative activity.

In spite of these defects, the foregoing analysis shows why, in terms of human motivation, the elite groups in a society tend to be conservative, and the rank and file more innovative, even in a situation where the distribution of *material* rewards is perfectly equal. It also indicates that the original establishment of elites in a previously unstratified system may arise, not because a group seizes power, but because of a consensus, albeit reluctant, on the part of all members of the group, concerning the importance of achieving certain societal goals. Such insights, further refined, should help us to evaluate the relative merits of such divergent theories of stratification, elites, and class conflict as those offered by Pareto, Davis and Moore, Marx, Dahrendorf and Lenski. The lack of predictive power should not be considered a serious defect at this stage of the development of social science, for, as Blalock points out, "In one sense the ultimate goal of all sciences is that of prediction. This does not imply, of course, that one is only secondarily interested in "understanding". . . . Perhaps it is correct to say that such "understanding" is the ultimate goal and that to the degree that understanding becomes perfected, prediction becomes more and more accurate."[13]

FOOTNOTES

1\. See Aminai Etzioni, "The Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," *American Journal of Sociology* 64 (March 1951), pp. 476-487; and Ivan Vallier, "Structural Differentiation, Production Imperatives and Communal Norms: The Kibbutz in Crisis," *Social Forces* 40 (March 1962), pp. 233-242.

2\. George Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

3\. Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a Classless Society," *American Sociological Review* 16 (December 1951) p. 771.

4\. Ibid., p. 771, n.

5\. Homans, op. cit., p. 53.

6\. Ibid., p. 54.

7\. Ibid., p. 55.

8\. Ibid., pp. 55, 282.

9\. Ibid., p. 60.

10\. Ibid., p. 63.

11\. Ibid., p. 212.

12\., Ibid., p. 275.

13\. Hubert M. Blalock., Jr., *Social Statistics* (New York: Mcgraw-Hill, 1960) p. 274.

INMATE INTERACTION AS A DETERMINANT OF RESPONSE TO INCARCERATION*

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For many years sociologists have stressed the importance of the type of correctional institution -- hence its organizational goals -- in understanding the nature of the inmate response to incarceration and the inmate informal social organization. This investigation proposes that the sheer amount of interaction bears a relationship to that of inmate response.

Hence an analysis of the degree of interaction of about two thousand inmates from fifteen institutions representing four types of correctional facilities will be presented as an insight into the question of variation among inmate responses to their incarceration. The article begins with a brief review of the literature and some historically developed theoretical insights related to this analysis; the guiding hypothesis emerges out of these considerations. Then the general theoretical perspective is given and the specific hypotheses advanced for test. Finally the findings and interpretations are presented and conclusions drawn.

EVALUATION The response by inmates to incarceration in correctional institutions has been fairly intensively studied since Donald Clemmer's now classic study.[1] This was the beginning of the sociological study of modern correctional institutions. It was a comprehensive study of inmate informal social organization.

Throughout the reading of inmate social organization research findings one is led from the more historical perspective that there does not exist much variation, if any, among the inmate's response to incarceration -- inmates are quite well organized in opposition to the institution and the staff -- to the more recent focus on variation among responses. Sykes and Messinger summarize the earlier findings aptly in their review of thirty-five studies of adult correctional institutions, concluding that:

> Despite the number and diversity of prison populations, the observers of such groups have reported only one strikingly pervasive value system ... which commonly takes the form of an explicit inmate code.... The prisoners must present a united front against their guards no matter how much it costs them in terms of personal sacrifice.[2]

More recent studies have focused on the variation in the responses of inmates to the correctional institutions and the staff. Goffman investigated and compared several types of total institutions and found a great deal of variability in the response of members of total communities toward those who were in charge.[3]

Following Goffman's investigations, sociological studies of specialized correctional institutions, which were not merely custodial, indicated that all inmates did not stand in direct opposition to the staff and the institution. For example, Grusky's study[4] (which was replicated and corroborated by Berk[5] seven years later) was the first to report with empirical findings from an experimental-treatment institution that even those inmates chosen as leaders by other inmates had favorable attitudes towards the institution and/or treatment program.

Berk also noted that there was considerable interaction between inmates and staff in the treatment-oriented prison from his sample of three correctional institutions. Although this is not a major finding of Berk's study, it is important from the viewpoint of the present analysis; there is variability in inmate response and the institutional social climate is not necessarily characterized by extreme cleavage between inmates and staff.[6]

The studies commented on above can be seen as an historical development.[7] In the early prison studies the case method was the primary source of data, and for the most part set in maximum-security prisons. Therefore, an inmate's response to incarceration was seen as a reaction to the harsh conditions: to the deprivations of imprisonment. The more recent comparative studies have indicated that a less negative social climate may be found in institutions which are milder: have treatment-oriented goals.

Yet the difference in inmate social climate between the earlier and later studies may be given another interpretation. The custodial prison has rules which discourage interaction among inmates as well as between guards and inmates; the inmates themselves have norms prohibiting contact with staff. In contrast, the treatment-oriented prison has relatively high rates of interaction among inmates, and between officials and inmates. This tends to be a regular consequence of the implimentation of milieu-type treatment.[8] It seems reasonable to expect variations in inmate social climate to follow, in part, from differences in interpersonal contact. The present analysis will pursue this general expectation.

The relationship between interaction and sentiments was emphasized in the social theory developed by Homans in The Human Group. One of the propositions advanced was the following: "... Persons who interact frequently with one another tend to like one another."[9] This proposition tells us that frequent interpersonal contact between persons usually results in an increase of positive effect between the interactors.

Again, the influence of the amount or frequency of interpersonal contact is considered in this analysis. Heretofore, authors seem to have assumed contact among inmated to be essentially "negative" and staff-inmate contact to be a "positive" influence. This is not to deny that the specific content of interaction is significant. It is contended, however, that the sheer amount of interaction, regardless of the content, is also important in producing a positive response to incarceration. With a high quantity of interpersonal contact, an inmate is more likely to become intimately familiar with or integrated into the correctional institution milieu than an inmate who is an infrequent interactor. Such familiarity with the other participants in a microsocial system will tend to reduce the threat that the actors otherwise could be to each other, and, the general foreboding nature of the institution. In short, it is reasonable to expect those inmates who are high interactors to have, relatively speaking, a higher sense of well-being and therefore a more positive response to incarceration.

The specific hypotheses are: inmates ranking high on quantity of interaction are expected to feel justly treated more often than those ranking low on interaction; and, inmates ranking high on quantity of interaction are expected to feel helped by their incarceration more often than those ranking low on interaction.

Why have we chosen feelings about justice and about being helped or harmed as indicators of inmate response? Throughout the Western world two major sets of values are brought to bear on the prison as a total institution: those stressing that a just sanction should be administered, and those emphasizing that the inmate should somehow be changed for the better. These sets of values are by no means lost on the inmate himself. In fact, previous research in one of the institutions in the present sample indicates that inmates are extremely conscious of them.[10] Questions concerning perceived justice and perceived help or harm from incarceration should be very relevant to the inmates, and in turn, sensitive guages of inmate response.

METHODS AND DATA Earlier it was stated that inmate response to incarceration would be measured by inmate perceptions of justness of treatment and effect of incarceration. Justness of treatment is measured by the questionnaire item: "Do you think that you have been justly treated here in the institution?" Perceived effect of incarceration is measured by the item: "Do you think that your stay here in the institution will mean something for you when you are released to the outside?"

The primary independent variable, interaction, is measured by an index constructed from three questionnaire items dealing with (1) the number of inmate friendships made within the institution, (2) the amount of contact with the guards, and (3) the amount of contact with friends and relatives on the outside. These items and the index are described in Appendix A. Three measures of inmate interaction are used because they are the major sources available to the inmate as a member of a total institution. Furthermore, these three sources of interpersonal contact -- especially inmate to inmate, and inmate to guard -- are seen as significant in the sociological findings which have associated inmate response to incarceration with organizational goals. Since the previous investigations have been used as a point of departure, it is desirable to use similar criteria so that the present findings may be compared to previous ones.

An inmate's amount of interpersonal interaction is determined or influenced by many factors. Therefore, this study employs control variables in order to test for spuriousness and develop the central argument. The variables chosen have been shown to have considerable influence on the relationship posited.

The analysis of the contingency tables computed notes differences in cell percentages and the changes in cell percentages when a table is partialled. This form of analysis is chosen for these tables in preference to proceeding with tests of significance because the data were gathered from these respondents who were accessible; not by systematic sampling. Hence, there is no universe, of which this sample is representative, to which the findings can be "legitimately" generalized. However, general implications for correctional institutions and total communities can presumably be drawn from the present findings.

FINDINGS These findings are based on the major hypothesis stated above: the expectation is for inmates ranking high on interaction to feel more justly treated in the institution and more helped by incarceration than the less frequent interactors.

Table 1 [tables available on request] indicates there is a slight positive relationship in direction of the expectation of the major hypothesis. The more frequent interactors do indeed feel more justly treated in the institution and perceive their incarceration as being helpful than the less frequent interactor. The difference in the ranks of interaction are not, obviously, significantly different; this may be a function of the data as discussed below.

Although those ranked High on both feelings of justness of treatment and perceived help from incarceration are only 4 per cent greater than those ranked Low, the relationship does hold rather well in Table 6 using the often-discussed variable, type of institution, as a control (normal prison, preventative detention, youth, special). Here there is no significant reversal of the basic first-order relationship. Rather, the trend is supported that those inmates High on interaction feel more justly treated and helped than those ranked Low. The only reversal is in the normal prison, where 44 per cent of those ranked High feel justly treated whereas 45 per cent of those ranked Low feel similarly. At any rate, it does not seem that a strong position could be taken, based on these data, that the type of organizational goals predicts the kinds of inmate response found in previous studies.

Recalling that the primary independent variable interaction was composed of the variables: number of inmate friends, treatment staff, guard, and outside contact by letter; then each one becomes, in turn, a control for the quantity of involvement in Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12. From Tables 11 and 12, controlling for High and Low numbers of Inmate Friends and Outside Contacts respectively, one can gather an empirical basis for the thesis that interpersonal contact within the institution is an influential determinant of inmate response. Specifically, those who have a greater number of inmate friends and are High on interaction feel more justly treated and helped by incarceration than those ranked Low on friendships and interaction. This finding is complemented in Table 12 where those Low on Outside Contact and High on Involvement feel the more justly treated (51%) and helped (52%) than those in the High Outside Contact category. In the latter, those High on Involvement feeling justly treated represent 46 per cent and those perceiving help represent 47 per cent. These findings are taken as an indication that adjustment through interpersonal contact within the total community has a positive effect on the inmate's response to incarceration.

Related to the foregoing is the amount of contact with Guards and Treatment-Staff found in Tables 10 and 11. Those High on Guard contact feel more justly treated (46%) and more helped (46%) than those Low on Guard contact. These inmates represent 40 per cent feeling justly treated and 39 per cent perceiving help from the stay in the institution. Table 9 points out that the above relationship is even stronger for inmates with High Treatment-Staff contact. Fifty-three per cent ranked High on contact feel justly treated compared with 38 per cent ranked Low; those perceiving help who are ranked High on contact represent 54 per cent whereas 38 per cent ranked Low on Treatment-Staff contact consider themselves helped. It is felt that the sheer quantity of interaction thesis is strengthened by a comparison of Guard and Treatment-Staff contact; especially considering that the two contacts are of varying quality. An inmate cannot usually have incidental contact with the Treatment-Staff and hence it becomes marked as interaction above the necessary to get through the everyday routines of institutional life. On the other hand, interaction with Guards can contain a lot of "noise" because of trivial contacts in the form of admonishments to return to the food line or cease talking. Therefore, this type of contact would be more difficult for the inmate to recall in his assessment about his contact with a Guard. Treatment-Staff contact would not stand the same mortality rate in being recalled since it tends to be quite out of the ordinary, in terms of daily routine. Thus, the trend from Guard contact to Treatment-Staff contact showing an increase in the significance of sheer amount of interaction is seen as supportive of the hypothesis. In other words, the Guard contact distribution is considered conservative. If the item measuring Guard contact had been fractioned into several questions so that it would encourage the respondent to think more intently about any sort of Guard contact then it is posited that these results would be as strong, if not more significant, than the Treatment-Staff relationship.

Hence, rather than asking the inmate: "How often does it happen that you have a conversation with one of the guards here in the institution?" it would be more reflective of the relationship being tested here if one asked a series of questions of which the following are typical: "During last evening's recreation period did you talk to a guard?" "Yesterday after breakfast and before going to lunch, did you talk to a guard? Did a guard talk to you?" With such measures of Guard contact it is felt that the single Treatment-Staff contact measure would be equalled.

DISCUSSION Although the argument here is not strongly supported by the findings there is a definite trend established in the data. It is still contended that the amount of interaction is important, no matter what the source or target the interaction has for the inmate. The quantity of contact is what seems crucial. If incidental contact data could be gathered within the total community, sheer quantity of interaction would be related significantly to a positive inmate response to incarceration.

In conclusion, not only is there a substantive problem at issue here, but a theoretical-conceptual one, too. Perhaps more efficient determinants or predictors of behavior in organizations could be achieved if sociological categories, such as interaction or standard deviations of age distributions were employed rather than institutional categories of analysis, such as, organizational goals?

FOOTNOTES

* The principal investigator of the study from which this data is taken was Stanton Wheeler. I wish to thank Tony (Hugh F.) Cline, Thomas Mathiesen, and Richard "Red" Schwartz for comments on this study; for helpful suggestions, Donald R. Cressey. My investigation was funded, in part, by the Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship Awards.

1. Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community (New York, 1958)

2. Gresham Sykes and Sheldon Messinger, "The Inmate Social System," in Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison (New York, 1960), pp. 5-8.

3. Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions: Staff-Inmate Relations," in The Prison, ed. Donald R. Cressey (New York, 1961), pp. 68-106.

4. Oscar Grusky, "Organizational Goals and the Behavior of Informal Leaders," American Sociological Review 65 (July 1959), pp. 59-67.

5. Bernard B. Berk, "Organizational Goals and Inmate Culture," American Journal of Sociology 71 (March 1966), pp. 522-534.

6. Ibid., p. 533.

7. For a more complete discussion of this historical development, see: Ross L. Hindman, "Degree of Inmate Interaction as a Determinant of Inmate Response to Incarceration in Correctional Institutions," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, June 1967.

8. Grusky, loc. cit., p. 60.

9. George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1950), p. 111.

10. Thomas Mathiesen, The Defences of the Weak (London, 1965)

SOCIAL PROJECTION BY PRONOMINAL REFERENCE

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Language-in-use has served extensively as a basis for evaluating social and personal characteristics in psychological, anthropological, and sociological investigation through pencil and paper tests, questionnaires, interviews, direct observation, and personal documents. In recent years, more attention has centered on socio-linguistics, the process of verbal interaction (Bales, 1970) and the generation of social roles through speech (Bernstein, 1966; Goffman, 1961). Bernstein notes, for instance, that "If... the communication system which behaviorally defines given role is speech itself, it should be possible to distinguish critical roles in terms of the sppech fotms they regulate" (1966, 255). Rommetveit includes personal pronouns among words which "...serve primarily to introduce particulars of the speakers' and hearers' shared cognitive fields into the message" (1968, 197). Brown, who has worked extensively on various psychological facets of language use and language processes (1957) has also isolated the second person singular and plural pronouns as indicators of power differentials and degrees of intimancy in interpersonal relations in the European languages (Brown and Gilman, 1960). Brown and Gilman note that "in terms of Freud's striking amoeba metaphor, the pronouns signal the extension of retraction of libidinal pseudopodia" (1960, 276).

The use of personal pronouns in natural conversation constitutes an implicit index of social reference and could provide an elementary topography of the social environment as reflected in the conversational relation. There is some problem, in identifying the antecedents of pronouns, but the personal pronoun conveys intelligible meaning even though the antecedent is not specified, and for some general research objectives it is not necessary to sort out pronominal antecedents. Generally the referents of pronouns, if not understood are provided initially, and only as often thereafter as is needed for the purposes of the emitter. (The term emitter and target are used for the alternating poles of a conversational dyad.) Thus nominal reference is usually at a minimum and pronominal reference is preferred. The general frequency of pronominal reference expressed in ratio form such as a rate per thousand syllables could provide an approximate index of personal reference. Thus, the third verse of the White Rabbit's poem has 11 pronouns in 25 words:

> "I gave her one, they gave him two, you gave us three or more;
> They all returned from him to you through they were mine before."

An excerpt from Goffman of natural conversation between a nurse and an intern during surgery contains 12 pronouns in 53 words (1961, 183). French, Carter, and Koenig (1930) in a verbatim sample of nearly 500 telephone conversations counted 17,900 pronouns in a total of 79,390 words. Their data yields a proportion of 225 pronouns per 1,000 words, reducing to about 165 pronouns per 1,000 syllables assuming a mean of 1.5 syllables per word. Pronouns were the most numerous of all grammatical categories. Such samples of verbal interchange can be compared on the amount of personal reference by determining the density of personal pronouns in the samples

Pronominal reference to persons may be ordered in a quasi-linear series if two principles of ordering are applied in sequence: (1) the principle of extension, and (2) the principle of proximity. By the principle of extension a reference to a group of persons is more "extensive" than a reference to one person, and represents a more "distant" application of personal reference. By the principe of proximity, a reference to a person who is logically or categorically more remote from the speaker also represents a more "distant" application of personal reference.

Applying these principles in increasing order of distance from the speaker, it is immediately clear that a speaker's references to himself are the most proximate to the speaker and represent a minimal element of distance from himself. The second-person position is that with which the speaker is directly engaged in speech, the included other, verbally signified by the pronoun "you." The third-person position is the excluded other, a person with whom the speaker in the act of speaking, is not directly engaged. Here it is assumed that the same-sex referent is more distant. These two types of reference occupy the third and fourth positions in the series. The fifth position is the social group which inferentially includes the speaker. The sixth and final position is the social group which inferentially excludes the speaker. By this reasoning, the personal pronouns may be ordered in a scale of social projection. The fact that third persona plural pronominal forms may have impersonal antecedents effects some contamination of the scale function. A full-text check of ten protocols selected by a table of random numbers from the 74 protocols of dyadic conversation disclosed 143 instances of the third person plural pronoun of which 123 had personal antecedents and 18 had impersonal antecedents. The prevailing use of the form (.87 in the present subsample) is as a personal pronoun.

HYPOTHESES. Social projection might be expected to vary by sex of adult actor, by age, by degree of social affiliation, by social class, and by racial identification. Following Parson's differentiation of male and female functions, the male is socialized more in terms of instrumental functions. He is judged in terms of his ability to manipulate objects in the environment for the achievement of instrumentally defined goals. The female is socialized in terms of expressive functions. Her special skill is manifested in interpersonal relations. Her performance skills are less crucial than those of the male, but her expressive qualities of sociability, and skills in direct social interaction are crucial (Parsons, Bales, 1955, Ch. 2). This basic functional specialization would suggest that females should project farther into the social environment and more into the world of persons than would the males. On this basis the first three hypotheses are: (1) Female emitters will manifest more social projection than male emitters. (2) Female-dyads will exceed male-dyads in social projection. (3) Male-female dyads will exceed male-dyads in social projection. When fraternity members are compared to non-fraternity members, it is expected that fraternity members are more concerned with social relations, and with persons and groups involved in such relationships. The circle of acquaintances tends to be extended for fraternity members and the frequency of contact among acquaintances is increased through meetings, daily association among fraternity members, and by organized athletic and social events. This leads to the fourth hypothesis: Fraternity members will exceed non-fraternity members in social projection. The basis for predicting social class is less definite than for sex and social involvement. Social class is defined for students in terms of the social class of the family of origin and depends mainly on father's occupation, and education. Generally, it might be reasoned that as educational and occupational levels increase, the family of origin would tend to have more contacts in the social environment. As a secondary effect, the children maturing in families of higher educational and occupational attainment would tend to share in the more extensive social contacts of such families. Since these effects derive from the fathers' characteristics and are modified by the mother's influence, and by the social orientation of the child, less confidence can be placed in the hypothetical effect of the father's attained social class and the child's ascribed social class on the child's social projection. However the effect should be positive. The fifth hypothesis is: Students from upper middle class homes will exceed students from lower middle class homes in social projection.

For a population of university students, students within the younger age bracket (20-25 years) are more fully incorporated into the student culture than are older students aged 30 years or more, who are more peripheral to student relationships and to student values. Students within the normal age span (20 to 25 for juniors and seniors) will have more meaningful social contacts in the university community, and will reflect more social projection in pronominal use than will older students. Therefore Hypothesis Six states that younger students will manifest higher social projection than older students. Black students, like older students, are expected to be more peripheral to the predominant student culture of a school where more than 95 percent of the student body identified racially mixed group, it is expected that the white students would have greater social projection than the black students.

METHOD. Upper level college students in sociology courses were paired in 74 unique dyads for five minutes of conversation. They were instructed to talk about anything they wished, and to be as natural as they could, since the object was to determine how people talk. They were only slightly acquainted, and were told that the conversation would be recorded. Each recording was transcribed by a team of two persons, including one of the original participants and one nonparticipant for each five-minute episode. Having only one participant in the transcriber team was necessary because when both participants attempted to transcribe they became reinvolved in the conversational interchange which seriously impeded the transcription process. One participant was required to establish sure identification of the speaker for each vocal output on the tapes. On four of the recordings, it was necessary to ask the second participant to help identify one or two doubtful passages. All words and portions of words were transcribed in conventional spelling, and literal conventions were applied to non-verbal vocalization such as "ha" for each syllable of laughter, "ah" for the hesitation sound and "ghm" for throat clearing. This material was transferred to IBM cards and exhaustively rechecked against the audio tapes to reduce error. The main source of error was typists' omissions from the written protocols. The material was machine-processed to retrive all pronominal reference including combined forms.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION. The Mann-Whitney ranks test (one tail) was applied by machine to assess differences in social projection. The results are indicated in Table 1. The rank difference is significant for the difference in age, and for the difference in social affiliation. The predicted differences by sex and by race did not appear, and those hypotheses are not confirmed. The rank difference by social class fails to reach the .05 criterion but this sample has a relatively small social class differential. A retest comparing subjects of working class origin with those of upper middle class origin is needed before a definite assessment of class effect can be made. The same test was applied to dyad-sets, making three comparisions among male, female, and mixed dyad groups in all of which the hypothesis of a sex-related difference in social projection is disconfirmed. A tabulation of the rate of pronoun usage per 1,000 syllables by dyad sex-type, and by sex of actor was made to evaluate the relation of nominative to accusative employment for each pronoun offering these forms (Table 2.) From Table 2 it appears that the two sexes are closely similar in the rate of use for all of the

Table 1: Social Projection by Age, Sex, Class, Membership, and Race*

Category	N1	N2	z	p
Young-Old	128	20	-1.79	.035
Male-Female	75	73	.51	.192
Low Middle-Upper Middle	43	105	1.35	.088
Fraternity-Independent	62	84	-1.77	.037
Black-White	21	127	.89	.190

*Mann-Whitney Test, direction predicted.

Table 2: Rate of Pronoun Forms Per 1,000 Syllables by Sex and Dyad Type*

	I	Me	He	Him	We	Us	They	Them	You	Pronouns*	Syllables
Males	38.9	2.4	8.6	3.6	5.2	.5	10.1	2.1	24.0	95.5	52,966
Females	40.4	2.1	8.8	3.2	5.0	.6	8.8	2.9	27.8	99.7	46,710
Male Dyads	37.1	2.7	10.1	3.9	4.4	.2	10.5	2.1	23.9	93.0	24,339
Mixed Dyads	40.1	2.1	7.7	3.3	5.6	.5	8.7	2.2	26.5	96.7	52,123
Female Dyads	41.2	2.1	9.4	3.2	5.0	.9	10.3	3.7	25.9	101.8	23,214

*Includes forms listed plus possessive and reflexive forms.

listed pronominal forms. The fact this similarity also holds for the three dyad types, suggests some relatively fixed underlying principle governing the distribution of pronominal forms in casual conversation. About 95 percent of self-reference is in the nominative case, as subject or originator of action and about 90 percent of in-group reference (we) is in the nominative case. For third person references this ratio declines to about 79 percent in the nominative, and 21 percent as the object or receiver of action. These dyads also seem to be dominated by the self-included-other (I-you) linkage since about 65 percent of all personal pronominal references are in these two positions. Since pronouns make up about 10 percent of all syllables emitted, it seems that sustaining the conversational contact imposes a considerable requirement for explicit verbal reaffirmation through pronomination of both emitter (I) and target (you) in the dyadic conversational contact. The emitter renominates himself roughly each 25 syllables, his partner every 40 syllables, and one member of the interacting pair every 15 syllables.

The proposition that self-reference (I, me) by one partner tends to vary directly with included-other reference (you) by the other is not supported in this data. Correlations for the male, female, and mixed groups were within the limits of chance variation, and no consistent pattern was apparent. Although first person and second person pronominal references by far are the most frequent, their frequencies tend to vary independently, and hence do not appear to constitute an interactor response pattern. This tends to suggest that first and second person references may be an emitter requirement and probably are not an interaction or exchange requirement. Slight sex-related differences become apparent when factor analysis is applied to the correlation matrixes for male, female, and mixed dyad sets. A 12-by-12 correlation matrix reflecting the six pronominal forms for each of two actors was made for the three sex structures. The five factors identified for the male set tend to link two different pronominal positions. The first and largest factor has high loadings on You, Same-sex, Opposite-sex. The second factor loads on the combinations: They, They. The third and fourth factors both load on: I, We. The fifth factor loads on: I, Same-sex. These are integrative combinations which indicate clusters of complementary pronominal positions. The five factors identified in the female sex include: Factor 1, Opposite-sex, Opposite-sex; Factor 2, Same-sex, Same-sex; Factor 3, I, They; Factor 4, You, You; Factor 5, We, We. Four of these factors include pronominal pairs which are parallel rather than complementary. Female conversants show pronoun clusters in which usuage tends to repeat rather than to complement, to mirror personal reference orientation rather than to integrate it. Female actors, then tend to orient in similar and parallel paths in personal reference while male actors tend to orient in complementary or integrative paths in personal reference. In the male-female set rows 1-6 derive from the male partner and rows 7-12 derive from the female partner. The first factor of the male-female set loads on (M) Opposite sex, (F) Same sex which creates a parallel relation in which males and female partners tend primarily to use the third person feminine pronouns she, her. The second factor loads on the: I, You pronouns by the female partners, which is complementary and integrative for the two sexes. The third and fourth factors load on: (M) We, (F) We, and (F) They, (M) They also a parallel type of cluster, manifested by both sexes. The fifth factor loads on: (M) Same-sex, (F) Opposite-sex which, when taken with the first factor, provides a mutual clustering on the third person masculine pronouns which rounds out a picture of sex complements. The pattern of personal reference suggests some polarizing of the two sexes, and a marked tendency toward the female dyad pattern of parallel pronominal reference.

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SEX ROLES: AN ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE CONSISTENCY

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The Problem

Past researchers, including Mirra Komarovsky, Kenneth Kammeyer, and Paul Wallin, have published papers concerning sex roles of women. These papers have been cited in family literature, and have been considered as a significant contribution to the study of social roles. However, there has been almost no subsequent research in this area, and there are still several questions regarding sex roles of college women and/or college men.

At present time, we are aware that both female and male roles are changing--some would say the latter only in response to the former. It would seem at the present time there would not only be an unclear definition as to what is a male or female role, but also a possibility for contradiction as to what is a male and female role. A possible source of contradiction concerning sex roles is the opposite sex. It is generally accepted that men and women are influenced by the attitudes held by the opposite sex. However, there has been little research which has investigated the agreement or disagreement between men and women's attitudes toward opposite sex roles. Therefore, it is the purpose of this research to: (1) Investigate the degree to which selected variables influence the attitude of college men and women toward their own sex roles, and the sex roles of the opposite sex; and (2) To investigate the degree to which the college men and women differ in their attitude toward their own sex roles and the sex roles of the opposite sex.

Komarovsky labeled the two general sex roles available to American college women as "feminine" and "modern," while Kammeyer labeled them as "traditional" and "modern." We are not specifically concerned with these ideal types, as such, and due to the fact we are dealing with both male and female roles, this study will use a continium ranging from "traditional" sex roles, to "non-traditional" sex roles.

Sample and Procedure

A stratified random sample of one-hundred students currently enrolled at the University of Tulsa were given a self-administered questionnaire designed to collect data concerning both male and female sex roles, and certain selected variables. The number of males (56) and females (44) were selected in proportion of each sex currently enrolled in the University. Likewise, the proportion of freshmen (23%, N=26); sophomores (17%, N=19); juniors (18%, N=20); seniors (15%, N=17); and graduate students (17%, N=18), was based on the proportion of each student classification currently enrolled at the University. An additional 10% of the students were enrolled in the Law School and as Unclassified. There were no students in these last two categories interviewed.

All students were full-time (carrying at least 12 semester hours/semester). The respondents' age range was from 18 years through 51 years. However, the average age was only 22.5. There were 22 subjects who were married, ranging from less than one year to nine years, the average being 2.4 years. The students' average monthly income was approximately $400.00, and the average income of their parents' was slightly over $15,000 per year. The average father's status was 76.2 on the North Hatt Scale (76 equals electrician or railroad engineer, and 77 equals official of an international labor union).

The questionnaire presented to the subjects included a set of seven items concerning the female sex role, and seven items dealing with the male sex role. Both sets of items formed a Likert-type scale (summated). Some of the behaviors selected for this scale were suggested by Komarovsky and Kammeyer. Others were selected by the author because they seemed to be characteristic of the traditional folklore concerning the sex roles of men and women.

Table I: Statements used to measure respondents' attitude toward the female sex role (agreement responses presented):

	% Completely Agree	% Somewhat Agree	Total % Agree
1. The most important role for a married woman is that of being a mother.	M-48%	24%	72%
	F-23%	10%	33%
2. In marriage, the major responsibility of the wife is to keep her husband and children happy.	M-38%	38%	76%
	F-30%	36%	66%
3. One of the most important things a mother can do for her daughter is to prepare her for the duties of being a wife.	M-41%	30%	71%
	F-20%	30%	50%
4. The wife should help support the family only when it is absolutely necessary.	M-43%	26%	69%
	F-12%	13%	25%
5. Marriage is the best career for a woman.	M-14%	34%	48%
	F-8%	17%	25%
6. English is a better major for a college girl than Economics.	M-2%	12%	14%
	F-6%	10%	16%
7. For a college girl social poise is more important than grade point.	M-10%	38%	48%
	F-2%	6%	8%

Table II: Statements used to measure respondents' attitude toward the male sex role (agreement responses presented)

1. The husband's wishes should come first in the marriage.	M-5%	18%	23%
	F-2%	15%	17%
2. The husband (father) should be free to do what he wants to do in his spare time.	M-12%	64%	76%
	F-24%	51%	75%
3. The husband should decide how the family's income is to be spent.	M-14%	48%	62%
	F-7%	26%	33%
4. The husband should decide where to live.	M-24%	43%	67%
	F-7%	35%	42%
5. The most important role for a married man is to provide for his family.	M-42%	37%	79%
	F-23%	52%	75%
6. The husband (father) should be the final authority in the home.	M-35%	45%	80%
	F-21%	48%	69%
7. Husbands should be more strict with their wives.	M-5%	24%	29%
	F-0%	0%	0%

Respondents were given a total score for each set of items, by summing the arbitrary weights assigned to the response categories (4 for "completely agree"; 3 for "somewhat agree"; 2 for "somewhat disagree"; and 1 for "completely disagree"). The range of total scores for each list was from 7 through 28. A respondent who completely agrees with all seven items would have a score of 28, a subject completely disagreeing with all seven items would have a score of seven. The higher a persons' score the more traditional would be his attitude toward the sex roles of male and female.

Findings

The first hypothesis to be tested is: Attitudes toward the female role will be positively related to attitudes toward the male role. The relationship between the two sets of attitudes was tested by using a correlation coefficient. The "r" value relating the female respondents' attitude toward the female role and the male role was .706 (.341 significant at .01 level). The "r" value between the male respondents' attitude toward the female role and the male role was .581 (.304 significant at the .01 level). Therefore, the data indicate a high degree of relationship between the two sets of attitudes. However, as indicated, this relationship was stronger for female respondents than male respondents. In spite of this rather clear relationship it should be pointed out that for a number of cases, the degree of consistency is not present as might be expected. It appears some respondents hold a mixture of traditional and non-traditional attitudes, both within the measures for his own sex, and the opposite sex. Additional analysis may increase the understanding of the relationship between these two sets of attitudes.

The second hypothesis to be tested is: There will be an inverse relationship between student classification and the traditionalism expressed toward male and female sex roles. It seems reasonable to assume that as students pass through college they would be exposed to different ideas, including sex roles, thereby questioning some of the traditional sex role teaching of their past lives. The "r" value for each of the analyses is asffollows:

Table IV:	Male Student Classification	Female Student Classification
Attitude toward male role	.034	-.239
Attitude toward female role	-.165	-.400**

(**Significant at the .01 level)

As indicated by the data, only the relationship between female student classification and the attitude toward the male role supported the empirical hypothesis. In fact, the relationship between male student classification and attitude toward the male role indicated a positive relationship. The remainder of the relationships were in the hypothesized direction.

The next hypothesis to be tested is: There will be an inverse relationship between the distance a student is from home while at college, and the degree of traditionalism expressed toward the male and female roles. It would seem the greater distance a student is from his parents the more independence he might have from his parents, and in turn, less chance for a student to be influenced by his parents concerning sex roles. The "r" value for each of the analyses is as follows:

Table V:	Miles from parents (males)	Miles from parents (females)
Attitude toward male roles	.098	-.005
Attitude toward female roles	-.126	-.149

The above data do not support the empirical hypothesis. In fact, the distance the men are from home is positively related to a traditional attitude toward the male role. In addition, the data indicate the distance from the parents' home is not as strongly related to the males' attitude toward either the male or female roles, to the degree it is related to the females' attitude.

If the distance a student is from his parents' home is not strongly related to attitudes toward sex roles perhaps integration in the college system is. For example, it would seem the more often a student visits his parents during the school year the less he would be exposed to the different ideas presented in the college environment. Therefore, it is hypothesized: There will be a positive relationship between the number of times a student visits his parents during the school year and the traditionalism expressed toward male and female sex roles. The "r" value for each of the analyses is as follows:

Table VI:	Visit Parents (male)	Visit Parents (female)
Attitude toward male roles	-.300*	.86
Attitude toward female roles	-.069	.037

(*Significant at the .05 level)

The data do not support the empirical hypothesis. For the female visiting parents, the "r" values are in the direction hypothesized. However, in the case of the males, the data indicates a negative relationship between visiting parents and attitude toward the male roles, to the degree of being significant.

To further test the influence on attitudes of a persons' integration in school, or separation from their parents' home data was collected as to whether a student lived at home while in college. A "t" test of means was used to test the hypothesis: There will be a significant difference between a student not living at home, as compared to the student living at home, while in school and the degree of traditionalism expressed toward the male and female sex roles. The "t" values for the analyses are as follows:

Table VII:	Place of residence (male)	Place of residence (female)
Attitude toward male roles	1.26	1.00
Attitude toward female roles	3.67**	5.23**

(**Significant at the .01 level)

Based on this data the females' or males' residence were not indicative of non-traditionalism toward the female role. However, the same relationship is not true for the attitude toward the male role, as these relationships were strongly significant.

There could also be interaction with parents through writing and phoning. The hypothesis relating these variables are: There will be a positive relationship between: (1) the number of times a student phones his parents per month; (2) the number of times a student writes his parents per month; (3) the number of times parents write the student per month; and (4) the number of times parents phone the students per month, and the degree of traditionalism expressed by the students toward the male and female sex roles. The "r" values for these analyses are as follows:

Table VIII:	Attitude toward male roles	Attitude toward female roles
# of times students write parents (M)	.134	.310**
# of times students write parents (F)	.155	.442**
# of times students phone parents (M)	.223*	.532**
# of times students phone parents (F)	-.265*	.091
# of times parents phone students (M)	.172	.333*
# of times parents phone students (F)	-.156	.083
# of times parents write students (M)	.046	.201
# of times parents write students (F)	.133	.436**

(*Significant at the .05 level) (**Significant at the .01 level)

The data supported the empirical hypotheses in relation to the respondents' writing their parents and attitudes toward female roles, the males phoning parents and attitude toward both the male and female roles, the females phoning their parents and attitudes toward the male roles, parents phoning the males and attitudes toward the female roles, and the females' parents writing them and their attitude toward the male role. All in all, the conclusions from these hypotheses are inconsistent and inconclusive. However, in several cases there was a positive relationship between the number of times students contact parents, or vice versa, and the degree of traditional attitudes toward sex roles expressed by the respondents.

Still another possible measure of integration in college life, and subsequent effect on attitudes toward sex roles, would be friends a person has at the University. The hypothesis used to test this is: There will be an inverse relationship between the number of friends a person has at the University and the degree of traditionalism expressed toward male and female roles. The "r" values for these analyses are as follows:

Table IX:	Number of friends (males)	Number of friends (females)
Attitude toward male roles	.234*	-.070
Attitude toward female roles	.242*	-.127

(*Significant at the .05 level)

The above data do not support the empirical hypothesis. Rather, in the case of the male respondents, the opposite direction was indicated. One might assume, based on this data, that for the male respondents friends serve to reinforce traditional attitudes toward sex roles. The female respondents indicated an inverse relationship between the number of friends and traditional attitudes toward the sex roles of men and women. However, these values were not significant.

The next variable to be tested is that of age. It might be argued that the older a person is, the more he would be exposed to the society-at-large, therefore throwing off some of his traditional concepts concerning sex roles. At the same time the society at large could reinforce traditional sex roles. Likewise, the older a person the likelihood is greater he grew up in a traditional role-oriented society. For the purposes of this study the hypothesis to be tested is: There will be an inverse relationship between the respondents' age and the degree of traditionalism expressed toward male and female sex roles. The "r" values for these analyses are as follows:

Table X:	Male Age	Female Age
Attitude toward male roles	-.226*	.077
Attitude toward female roles	-.200	.004

(*Significant at the .05 level)

The data do not support the empirical hypothesis except in the case of the males' age and their attitude toward the male role. The same relationship, even though not significant, is indicated between the males' age and their attitude toward the female role. However, the reverse is true for the female. Not only were the values not significant, they were in the opposite direction as hypothesized. One might assume that females take on more traditional attitudes toward sex roles as they get older, and often throw off non-traditional attitudes in their desire to get married.

Another variable which could be related to a students' attitude toward sex role is that of the happiness of their parents' marriage. If the parents were happy in their marriage, the student could have a more positive attitude toward the opposite sex. Therefore, it is hypothesized: There will be an inverse relationship between the happiness of the parents' marriage, as expressed by the students, and the degree of traditionalism expressed toward male and female sex roles. The "r" values for these analyses are as follows:

Table XI:	Parents' happiness (male)	Parents' happiness (female)
Attitude toward male roles	.001	.451**
Attitude toward female roles	.107	.455**

(**Significant at the .01 level)

The above data do not support the empirical hypothesis. However it does appear that the happiness of the females' parents marriage was significantly related to traditional attitudes toward sex roles. Could this tell us that in the happiest marriages we find traditional roles?

Students' income could possibly effect their sex role attitudes. If a students' monthly income was higher, it would seem he would be more independent, therefore, possibly having less traditional attitudes toward sex roles. It is hypothesized: There will be an inverse relationship between the students' monthly income, (excluding parental help), and the degree of traditionalism expressed toward the male and female roles. The "r" values for these analyses are as follows:

Table XII	Males' Income	Females' Income
Attitude toward male roles	-.141	.120
Attitude toward female roles	-.360**	.092

(**Significant at the .01 level)

This data supported the empirical hypothesis only in the case of the males' income and their attitude toward the female role. The remainder of the relationships were not significant. In fact, there was a positive relationship between the females' income and their traditional attitude toward male and female sex roles.

The marital status of an individual might influence their attitude regarding sex roles. In this case it is believed that if a person is married, there is a greater chance they will be socialized into traditional sex roles. For this reason, it is hypothesized: There will be a positive relationship between being married and the traditionalism expressed toward the male and female sex roles. The "r" value for these analyses are as follows:

Table XIII	Marital Status (M)	Marital Status(F)
Attitude toward male roles	-.280	.084
Attitude toward female roles	-.273	.094

The data do not support the empirical hypothesis. It appears that being married has almost no influence on the female's attitude toward either male or female sex roles. For the male, however, being married is positively related to non-traditional attitudes toward sex roles. Part of this could be attributed to the fact that in the case of the married male student, there is often a reversal of roles, therefore, he has been exposed to the non-traditional roles.

To determine the differences, if any, between the responses of the males and females in this study we will: (1) observe the differences in percentages as presented in Table I (Responses to attitude items) and; (2) test the difference in "r" values relating attitude of respondents toward the male and female sex roles and the selected variables which were previously tested. The responses of the males and females in this study to the attitude measurement items were not in agreement. In reference to both sexes attitude toward the various facets of the female role it is apparent that the males are more "traditional" than are the females. This applies in all except one case, "English is a better major for a college girl than Economics." The areas of the female role where there is the widest discrepancy between the attitudes of men and women are those of the role of mother, (72% vs. 33%), preparing daughter for wifely duties (71% vs. 50%), the working wife (69% vs. 25%), the best career for women (48% vs. 25%) and social poise versus grade point (48% vs. 8%). There was only a 2% difference regarding English being a better major for a college girl than Economics; and a 10% difference regarding the wife's major responsibility being to keep her husband and children happy.

However, in reference to the respondents' attitude toward the male role, even though they are not in agreement, the discrepancy is not as great as in the previous case. However, in this case the male respondents were consistently more traditional than were the females. The widest difference between the two sexes' responses was in reference to the husband deciding how the family's income was to be spent (62% vs. 33%); husband being more strict with their wives (29% vs. 0%); the husband deciding where to live (67% vs. 42%); and the husband (father) being the final authority in the family (80% vs. 58%). Not only does the difference in the male and female responses tell us that the sexes are not in agreement with each other regarding their sex roles, it could also strongly indicate a lot more women anticipate having a larger voice in their home and marriage, than the men are anticipating the women will have.

To further test the difference between the male and female attitude toward sex roles a Z transformation test has been used. Listed below are the previously tested independent variables, the "r" values, and the "Z" value for each variable, for both male and female.

Table XIV--Attitude toward female roles: Dependent variable

Independent Variables:	"r" Female	"r" Male	Z Value	Significance of Z
1. Attitude toward male roles	.706	.581	.723	NS
2. Student classification	-.400	-.165	1.22	NS
3. Miles from parents' home	-.149	-.126	.833	NS
4. Visiting parents	.037	-.069	.504	NS
5. Residence at college	.378	.415	.176	NS
6. Student writes parents	.442	.310	.133	NS
7. Student phones parents	.091	.532	2.10	.05
8. Parents phone students	.083	.333	2.08	.05
9. Parents write students	.436	.209	1.21	NS
10. Number of friends	-.127	.242	1.76	NS
11. Age	.004	-.200	.947	NS
12. Parents' marriage	.455	.107	1.83	NS
13. Students' income	.092	-.360	3.00	.01
14. Marriage	.094	-.273	1.27	NS
Attitude toward male roles: Dependent variable				
1. Attitude toward female role	.706	.581	.723	NS
2. Student classification	.239	.034	1.28	NS
3. Distance from parents' home	.005	.098	.490	NS
4. Visiting parents	.860	-.300	1.60	NS
5. Residence at college	-.043	.179	1.01	NS
6. Student writes parents	.155	.134	.100	NS
7. Student phones parents	-.265	.223	2.37	.05
8. Parents phone students	-.156	.172	1.58	NS
9. Parents write students	.133	.046	.414	NS
10. Number of friends	-.070	.234	1.51	NS
11. Age	.077	-.266	1.44	NS
12. Parents' marriage	.451	.00	2.32	.05
13. Students' income	.120	-.141	1.24	NS
14. Marriage	.084	-.280	2.07	.05

As indicated by the above data, even though the responses to the various items in the attitude scale appear to be quite different, the difference in which the selected independent variables are related to the dependent variables is not generally significant--in only two cases in the attitudes toward the male role, and in only three cases in the attitudes toward the female role.

However, reviewing all the data presented in this study, I believe it is safe to say, that at the present time there is a polarization of the sexes in regard to their attitudes regarding sex roles.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS AND SELF-ESTIMATE OF MATURITY OF ADOLESCENTS

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In sociological literature adolescence is commonly defined as the period of transition from dependent childhood to self-sufficient adulthood. If there were an orderly progression through this transition and this progression were recognized by both adults and adolescents, many of the difficulties of the teen-years might be avoided. However, in American society we have not agreed upon the basic roles of adolescent status, nor have we defined them for different age levels within the teen-years. We agree that the adolescent must have more obligations than a child and fewer rights than an adult. The adolescent is treated now like a child and now like an adult. Verbal expressions may often be inconsistent from one time to another in the same family since these expressions are influenced by the immediate situation and the mood of the parent.[1]

Since American society has not marked the ages at which certain types of self-sufficiency should be attained, expectations are not only poorly defined within a family but are not uniform from one family to another. The transition is more difficult because of the lack of any rite of passage of the individual into adulthood. The observance of such rites in less complex societies has been found to increase the awareness and clarity of one's status. Sebald states that many of the typically adolescent behavior styles in the United States can be defined as manifestations of adolescent maladjustment to a world that is poorly defined for them. The young person is deprived of a definite transitional ritual and its absence has an aggravating effect on the crisis of adolescence.[2]

Role clarity is reduced not only by the lack of definite roles which are appropriate at each age level throughout adolescence, but also reduced by disagreements among various people who serve as reference groups for the teen-ager. Adolescents are influenced at least as much by other teen-agers as they are by parents, and the most important differences in role definitions in the immediate experience of the teen-ager are found to be differences between peers and adults. Adolescents may not understand, as do adults, the tasks to be achieved nor the processes by which the achievement is to occur, and this lack of understanding may cause the role definitions of parents and adolescents to differ.[3]

Goodnight states that the inability of adults and adolescents to share common roles and to communicate effectively contributes to the ambiguities and/or contradictions in the expectations of behavior of adolescents and in their turning more and more to their age-mates for norms, values, and companionship. The ambiguity which frequently characterizes adult expectations of adolescent behavior results in considerable stress and strain for adolescents as they strive for their identity as individuals.[4]

Does the adolescent really sense an ambiguity in role definitions of adults and other teen-agers? If so, does this inconsistency disturb him or concern him? How do the role expectations of parents and friends differ? The purpose of this study is to explore the answers to these questions according to the adolescents' self-estimate of their maturity. Since there is no prescribed role status for each age level throughout adolescence, the social maturity of the teen-ager cannot be determined by his chronological age. For this reason, a self-estimate of maturity by each adolescent appears to be appropriate for this analysis.

This investigation is based upon 2,362 questionnaire responses of students from the seventh through the twelfth grades in 23 junior and senior high schools in Texas in December, 1968, and 645 responses from the same grade levels in December, 1969. The schools were selected to represent various geographic areas of both North and South Texas and each school was asked to complete a minimum of 55 questionnaires. In the sample, the two sexes are represented almost equally. The sample includes more senior than junior high school students, and eleventh and twelfth graders are somewhat over-represented in comparison to a normal population.

I. Maturity Scores

Since role definitions for adolescents do not automatically correspond to age levels and certain degrees of independence are not always granted at specific chronological ages, this study utilizes a maturity score based upon a self-estimate. Each respondent was asked to mark a number between one and ten which he felt corresponded to his position between childhood and adulthood. The respondents were also asked to give their perception of their parents' and their friends' estimates of their maturity. Self-estimates are categorized as low, medium, or high maturity. Scores from one through six are considered low, seven and eight are medium, and nine and ten are high. Using these categories, 19 per cent are low, 64 per cent are medium, and 17 per cent are high in maturity.

Although maturity does not necessarily correspond to chronological age, a certain amount of agreement may be expected. A comparison of age and maturity level indicates an increase in maturity with higher age levels. While only 8 per cent of the seventh and eighth graders consider themselves high on maturity, 21 per cent of the eleventh and twelfth graders place themselves in this position. The proportion of low maturity decreases from 39 per cent for the lower grades to 14 per cent for those in the eleventh and twelfth grades.

Several independent variables were related to the maturity score, but none except grade level showed any association. Boys and girls differ very slightly, the size of the community in which they reside shows no relationship, and there is no difference between the responses of children of white-collar and blue-collar parents.

A comparison of self-estimate with perception of parents' and friends' estimates may shed some light upon the inconsistencies which the person is experiencing. A gamma of +.57 indicates a moderate association between perception of parents' estimate and self-estimate. When the two estimates differ, the tendency is for the person to perceive the parent as considering him less mature than he sees himself. This is especially true of those who see themselves as highly mature; 55 per cent of those who consider themselves "almost adult" think their parents rank them lower in maturity, while only 46 per cent of those who are medium or low feel their parents see them as more childish than they place themselves.

The relationship between perception of friends' estimate and self-estimate produces a gamma of +.68, indicating a rather strong association between the two and a higher relationship between friend and self than between parent and self. One half of all respondents estimate themselves and perceive their friends as estimating them the same. This similarity is especially noticeable for those who rank themselves low on maturity, as 57 per cent think their friends see them equally low. Of those who rank themselves high, 47 per cent feel their friends rank them lower, and 44 per cent think their friends see them as they see themselves.

A comparison of perception of parents' and friends' estimates shows that 31 per cent think parents and friends would rate them the same, while 45 per cent think friends rank them higher than do parents. In other words, these adolescents see more similarity between their own and their friends' ideas of their maturity than between their own and their parents, with even less similarity between the ideas of parents and friends. This view is especially true of those ranking themselves as "almost adult."

II. Role Expectations

Two sets of questions measured the extent to which the students think they understand how parents and peers expect them to act. One statement read, "I feel I know how my parents expect me to act--all the time, most of the time, part of the time, or almost never." This question was followed by a similar one regarding other teen-agers. The other set of questions read, "Not knowing what my parents expect makes me feel mixed up." This statement was followed by a similar one concerning other teen-agers.

The first questions show that these students are much surer of what their parents expect of them than of what peers expect. Half of the respondents think they know what parents expect all the time, while only one-fourth are this sure of their peers. In the light of this answer, it might be anticipated that the uncertainty regarding peer expectations would be more troublesome than the doubt about parental expectations. However, the responses indicate more concern regarding parental expectations, even though the adolescents are surer of the role parents expect them to play. There appears to be very little feeling of being mixed up by not knowing what peers expect.

Relating the answers to these questions to maturity scores may shed some light upon the stages of adolescence when there is the least understanding of parental expectations. A comparison shows that it is the least mature who are the most unsure both of parents and peers. Those nearest to adulthood are the most sure of both parental and peer expectations.

The students who are highest in maturity are less frequently concerned about not knowing what is expected than are those persons still nearest to childhood. This same difference is most highly marked for peer expectations where 47 per cent of the highly mature are never bothered by not knowing what peers expect and 27 per cent of the lowest in maturity are never bothered by this experience.

Another means of examining the extent to which this inconsistency disturbs the adolescent was through the use of a ranking of a number of items which have been found to be sources of worry for young people. Six items were to be ranked according to the extent to which they cause the person to worry, and "knowing what is expected of me" was included along with school, money, a future job, the world situation, and growing up. Only slight differences are noted according to maturity level. School ranks first and growing up is second for all maturity levels. The world situation is third for those highest in maturity, while "knowing what is expected" is third for the others. Those nearest adulthood rank "knowing what is expected" as fourth. Money is the least worrisome for all levels. These responses reinforce the previously mentioned replies which indicated that it is the least mature who feel the inconsistency in expectations to the greatest extent and who are most concerned about them.

III. Differences in Role Expectations

Two specific types of behavior were selected to investigate the difference in the roles which the students feel parents and friends expect of them. One type of behavior concerned the amount of time and effort which should be given to making good grades; the other involved the amount of money to be spent on a date.

The largest proportion (69 per cent) think their parents expect them to concentrate on making good grades more than anything else, while only 14 per cent think their friends expect this of them. Fifty-one per cent believe their friends encourage them to make the best grades they can but not to worry about them, while only 30 per cent see their parents as believing this. One-third even think their friends believe they should have fun first and study later, but only one per cent feel their parents would agree with this viewpoint. A gamma of −.55 shows a moderate association between opinion regarding concentration upon good grades and maturity level. Those with the least maturity think their parents expect them to concentrate most upon grades but are not encouraged in this effort by their friends. Encouragement to concentrate on grades increases for friends as maturity level rises, and those who consider themselves as "almost adult" think their friends as well as their parents expect them to concentrate upon good grades. With the approach of high school graduation and the prospect of college entrance, grades take on a more serious meaning to peers. However, all maturity levels feel that parents expect more study than do friends, indicating a difference in the perception of role definitions by parents and peers.

The second series of questions concerning expectations of parents and friends inquired about the amount that would be appropriate to spend on anaverage date. As might be anticipated, friends would spend more than parents think is necessary. Amounts to be spent varied from fifty cents to over ten dollars, with the median amount for friends as $6.50 while the students thought their parents would say $5.00 was enough to spend. A comparison by maturity level shows that those who are more mature see more agreement between parents and friends than do those who are least mature. Forty-six per cent of those who are "almost adults" perceive parents and friends as being in agreement, while only one-third of those nearest childhood see the two as being the same. When they think parents and friends differ, the younger ones see friends as spending more than parents think is necessary much more frequently than do those who are more mature.

IV. Summary

The findings of this study indicate that:

1. There is a moderate association between the adolescent's perception of his parents' estimate of his maturity and his own self-estimate. When the two estimates differ, he usually believes his parents consider him to be more childish than he sees himself. This opinion is especially true of those teen-agers who

have the most mature self-image.

2. The association between the adolescent's perception of his friends' opinion of his maturity and his own estimate is slightly higher than his estimates regarding parent and self. Those who rank themselves low on maturity are most likely to think their friends have the same opinion about them.

3. There is a tendency for the adolescent to think his friends consider him more mature than do his parents, and this idea is most frequent among those who consider thesmelves as "almost adult."

4. These respondents are much surer of the behavior their parents expect of them than of the expectations of their peers. The students show more worry about parental than peer expectations even though they are less sure of the role definitions of peers. The least mature are also the least sure of the role definitions of both parents and peers.

5. The most mature are least worried by not knowing what is expected of them.

6. School and growing up are ranked as more serious worries than is "knowing what behavior is expected" of them.

7. Role definitions of parents and friends differ concerning the effort which should be put into study and good grades with parents expecting more concentration on school work and friends placing more emphasis upon having fun first. The difference in role definitions regarding school is most marked for the least mature.

8. Definitions also differ concerning the cost of a date with friends seeing a need for more expenditure than do parents. This difference is most marked for the least mature.

These findings lead to the conclusion that there is a difference in the adolescents' perception of role definitions by parents and peers and that this is most marked and most serious for the younger adolescent. As the person matures during adolescence these definitions tend to become more similar for him and also to be of less worry for him.

FOOTNOTES

1. David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1964) pp. 127-128.

2. Hans Sebald, Adolescence: A Sociological Analysis (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1968) p. 141.

3. Gottlieb and Ramsey, p. 129.

4. Barbara Goodnight, "Theory of Adolescence in American Society", paper presented to the Southwestern Sociological Association, 1968.

THE RUSSIAN MODAL PERSONALITY
VS.
THE NEW SOVIET MAN

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Lindesmith & Strauss (1950) in their critique of culture-and-personality studies observed that such studies have had little, if any, influence on the work of other social scientists.[1] One likely reason for the neglect of culture-and-personality is that its typical approach to personality has been vaguely psychoanalytic,[2] and to many social scientists a psychoanalytic point of view has become increasingly distasteful. This paper is written not to make psychoanalysis more palatable, but to make intentional use of the frequently neglected writings in culture-and-personality. The purpose of the paper is to apply some of the findings in the literature on Russian national character to study a recent phenomenon in Soviet society, i.e., the apparent liberalization of politics with the attendant amelioration in the quality of Soviet life.

Many authorities have commented on the prospects of a general liberalization occurring within the Soviet Union. Armstrong (1959) in his study of the Party bureaucracy in the Ukraine, taking note of the rising educational level of the Party elite, wonders if the humanistic trappings of education could loosen the Party's firm hand.[3]

Kassof (1968) suggests that we are witnessing in the Soviet Union the emergence of what he refers to as a "more or less benevolent authoritarianism."[4] (According to Western democratic values, authoritarianism presumably is a better state of affairs than totalitarianism.) Kassof sees industrialism, along with its baggage of technology, mass education, urbanization, transportation, communication, etc., as a major source for social change. He also assigns equal explanatory value to the role of historical events (e.g., Stalinism) in shaping social change, and, according to Kassof, the extent to which currents of change become real trends of liberalization will be limited by the formal Soviet institutions which were molded by unique historical experiences. Kassof advises that the contention, that the Soviet Union is becoming more liberal, does not mean that the Soviet Union is becoming more like the Western democracies. He considers such a projection to be ill-advised and erroneous, based upon a fallacious understanding of the forces of industrial development.

Lodge (1969), in his excellent study of Soviet-elite attitudes, approaches the phenomenon of liberalization in a different manner.[5] Liberalization, a term he does not use, is indicated by the increasing political influence of specialist-elite groups, such as the military, the legal profession, the literary and economic elites, and the decreasing influence of the Party elite. As the center of influence moves from Party to specialist elites, the general pattern of values becomes less ideological and more instrumental in content. Presumably, instrumental values are a reflection of the pragmatic interests one would expect of specialist-elite groups, whose primary concerns are with the practical aspects of running the Soviet Union. Lodge clearly defines his variables, is able to quantify them, and presents a statistical description of the liberalizing trends in Soviet society. The forces responsible for the dissipation of Party influence are apparently derived from the processes of industrial development. As social and technological complexity has proliferated, specialists have arisen to deal with that proliferation, and their expertise has given them an expanding sphere of influence.

Most explanations for Soviet liberalization resemble those given above. They emphasize the causal importance of an expanding society that requires increasing numbers of educated personnel who have been trained in the special skills essential to their work. The opinions of specialists, who by definition know more about the specific problems with which they work than any Party functionary would know, on occasion have to be taken seriously. As specialists come into the decision-making arena, so the argument goes, they bring with them their own values, which, to use Lodge's distinction, are more often instrumental than ideological. Fewer references are made to ideological goals (e.g., world socialism, building Communism, socialist democracy, etc.), and more are made to instrumental goals (e.g., economic achievement, improvements in the standard of living, scientific advancement, etc.).[6] Strict Party dominance recedes. The 'hard line' appears to soften. The general impression is one of liberalization.

The typical approach to Soviet liberalization has been to view it as purely the product of a social variable, i.e., an expanding society. I wish to explore the thesis that Soviet liberalization is the result of a social variable operating in conjunction with a personality factor. Studies on Russian national character suggest the possibility of a two-factor explanation.

The great majority of the systematic investigations into Russian national character grew out of two separate research projects, both of which were financed by the United States government. One major effort was headed by Margaret Mead under the auspices of the Rand Corporation.[7] (Gorer is viewed as a participant in this project.[8]) The other major effort, of which a sizeable portion was done at the expense of the U.S. Air Force, was undertaken at the Russian Research Center of Harvard University. Bauer,[9] Bauer, Inkeles & Kluckhohn,[10] Beier & Bauer,[11] and Inkeles, Hanfmann & Beier[12] are researchers who were at one time or another associated with the Harvard Center.

The Harvard approach, contrasted to Mead's, places a greater reliance upon the use of so-called 'hard methods' (e.g., psychological tests of various types, attitude surveys, etc.). Mead's approach, although utilizing some of the Harvard techniques, is essentially a thematic analysis of interview material, literary sources, and official documents. The picture of Russian character as presented by the Harvard group and the picture presented by Mead are substantially the same. The similarity of results is a credit to Mead's methodological skill.

The respondents in both projects were émigrés from the Soviet Union who had relocated in the West after World War II. They were largely, if not entirely, Great Russians. What is in fact the modal personality of Great Russians has acquired the reputation of being 'Russian' national character. This is unfortunate, because it leads to confusion and misunderstanding.

The Great Russians are only one of many nationality groups within the Soviet Union. (Probably in all ways they are the most influential.) National character as a concept is meaningful only if the nation-state in question is culturally homogeneous. If the state includes peoples who are culturally diverse, then, strictly speaking, there should be as many national characters as there are cultural traditions. At that point national character loses its meaning. Furthermore, national character is not sensitive to variations in psychological types that are usually found within any cultural grouping. Modal personality avoids the problems of national character and in many cases has replaced it in usage.

National character studies are commonly attacked for their conceptual shortcomings, and receive also the standard rebukes for imagined or real sampling inadequacies. The critics are in general justified. One minor criticism that is occasionally encountered is not justified though, i.e., that research based upon émigré groups is distorted because émigrés are more representative of deviant categories than they are of normal ones, is invalid.[13]

The research of Inkeles, Hanfmann & Beier utilizes experimental methodology and is perhaps the best study of the lot.[14] In an intensive study of 51 individuals utilizing clinical interviews and a battery of tests which included the Rorschach, TAT, a sentence completion test of 60 items, a "projective questions" test including 8 of the questions utilized in the authoritarian personality study, and a specially constructed "episodes" or problems situation test, they found (approximately) 15 personality trends which, when taken together, distinguishes Russians as a group from other nationality groups. Some of the trends are the following: 1) a primal need for affiliation, 2) an emotional aliveness, 3) a lack of pervasive defenses, and 4) polar tendencies in attitudes of trust, optimism, and activeness.[15]

Modal personality is, by definition, the most frequently appearing type of personality occurring within the population of a culturally bounded group. The list of trends does not itself represent a type but is best thought of as a description of the components available for possible types. That any one of the 51 Russian subjects would exhibit all 15 trends is highly unlikely. On the basis of scores on three trends (1, 2 & 3 above), Inkeles, et. al. delineates one modal personality type with a single variant. All cases which cannot be classified according to these two types are lumped together into a residual category. Of the 51 subjects, 22 are of the residual category, 16 of the variant type, and 13 of the primary type. They also found a direct relationship between low status and the appearance of the primary type, and between high status and the residual category. The primary type does not even appear among subjects of the highest status, of whom 12 out of 13 are classified as residual.

What is in the residual category, to which almost half the subjects are assigned? Are additional variant types concealed in this category but fail to appear because instances of them are too few? Only a replication of the study under better conditions can answer that question, and this is not likely to happen. If the residual category does include some as yet undifferentiated personality types, what might they be? Bauer's work suggests some intriguing possibilities; they are the variants that Bauer claims to have found of the New Soviet Man.[16]

The New Soviet Man represents a State effort to modify the behavioral traits of the Russian people which are least suited to a modern industrial order. The New Soviet Man, an ideal character-type who is cast in the image of Lenin, is described as "...disciplined, working steadily and consistently, puritanical in conduct and motivation. Prestige attaches to those who can master impulses and mood swings. The stress is on unlimited achievement, on restless organizing activity, and on tempo.... There is a stringent taboo on depressive moods, pessimism, and sentimentality...."[17] The State has made considerable effort to propagate this new type of man.

Bauer contends that within any large population a variety of personality types are found, and that the New Soviet Man as a type was already present in the Soviet population, but in numbers too small to satisfy the needs of society.[18] The New Soviet Man did not arise entirely then as a result of official efforts to create him. Some of his sort were already in existence, and, I submit, did not become visible until social conditions changed and social rewards began to accrue to that type. As his type filled the slots of increasingly higher status positions, he became more visible. In a sense, an inversion has occurred, in which the New Soviet Man rose to the top, his ranks' being supplemented with engineered examples of his ilk, while traditional personality, with its socially undesirable and hence unrewarded traits, sank to the bottom.

Bauer distinguishes three variants of the New Soviet Man. They are 1) the value-oriented idealist, 2) the system-oriented conformist, and 3) the opportunistic careerist. The idealist is attracted to the system because he sees within it the embodiment of his own personal values. The conformist is attracted to it because it offers him the recognition and support that he needs, in a psychological sense. The careerist is after the material advantages and prestige that come from advancing within the system. The idealist has a strong tendency to disaffect from the system when he experiences the disparity between his values and the actual conditions of Soviet life; he is a risk to the long-term efficiency of the system. Bauer predicts that as the "...social order becomes more routinized, it may be anticipated that there will develop a selective preference for the pure careerist and the system-oriented conformist who are less likely to disturb the smooth functioning of an orderly society."[19]

Bauer obviously likes the idealist, dislikes the conformist, and is at best indifferent to the careerist. For example, he describes the idealist as exhibiting a "...pronounced idealism characterized by a high value for human beings and a strong capacity and disposition toward productive work..." while the conformist, on the other hand, is described as "...rigid and limited in his behavior....lacking in creative imagination."[20] An investigator with a different set of values, using the same data, might with equal justification describe the idealist as a 'fanatic who is out to save mankind, its wishes notwithstanding, who tends to work himself, and perhaps others, to excess.' To this person the 'rigid and unimaginative' conformist might seem to be an 'efficient bureaucrat who is well-suited to his job.'

Bauer's personal feelings mask a possible relationship between his work and the work of Lodge, who describes Soviet liberalization as a case of ideological values' being supplanted by instrumental ones, as the carriers of the latter, the specialist-elite groups, become more involved in decision-making.

Soviet ideological values to us are undesirable, while liberalization is desirable. Bauer presents his idealist as an admirable character, and an admirable character's being diminished is undesirable. It is difficult for us to see how an undesirable state of affairs, such as the disappearance of an admirable character, can lead to something desirable, such as liberalization. I am arguing that the idealist might not be the admirable character he is presented as being, and that the conformist might have some redeeming qualities.

When Bauer's personal evaluation of his character types is taken into account, the idealist appears as the likely carrier of Lodge's "ideological values," and the conformist and careerist as the carriers of "instrumental values." As idealists disaffect from the system, taking with them their commitment to ideology, conformists and careerists (especially the latter) fill the slots left vacant, bringing with them their instrumental orientation. The net result is liberalization.

FOOTNOTES

1. Alfred R. Lindesmith & Anselm L. Strauss, "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," American Sociological Review 15 (October 1950) pp. 587-600.

2. A notable exception to this statement is the work of Anthony F.C. Wallace, who uses the conceptual approaches of perceptual, cognitive, and learning psychology. The best exposition of Wallace's approach is his Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, 1967).

3. John A. Armstrong, The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959).

4. Allen Kassof, "The Future of Soviet Society," Prospects for Soviet Society, edited by Kassof (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 497-506.

5. Milton C. Lodge, Soviet Elite Attitudes Since Stalin (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1969).

6. Ibid.

7. Margaret Mead, Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951).

8. Geoffrey Gorer & John Rickman, The People of Great Russia: A Psychological Study (New York: W.W. Norton, 1962).

9. Raymond A. Bauer, "The Psychology of the Soviet Middle Elite: Two Case Histories," Personality in Nature, Society & Culture, edited by Kluckhohn & Murray (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967).

10. Raymond A. Bauer, Alex Inkeles & Clyde Kluckhohn, How the Soviet System Works: Cultural, Psychological & Social Themes (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

11. Helen Beier & Raymond A. Bauer, "Oleg: A Member of the Soviet 'Golden Youth,'" Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology 51, pp. 139-145.

12. Alex Inkeles, Eugenia Hanfmann & Helen Beier, "Modal Personality & Adjustment to the Soviet Socio-Political System," Studying Personality Cross-Culturally, edited by Kaplan (Evanston: Row, Peterson & Co., 1961).

13. Bauer, Inkeles & Kluckhohn, Op.Cit.

14. Op.Cit.

15. A "polar tendency" in attitude is the tendency to shift from one extreme point of view to the extreme opposite, e.g., one is either very trusting or one is very suspicious, no middle position being taken.

16. Op.Cit.

17. Bauer, Inkeles & Kluckhohn, Op.Cit., P. 162.

18. Op.Cit.

19. Op.Cit., P. 649.

20. Op.Cit., pp. 643-649.

THE PSYCHOCULTURAL ORIGINS OF ACHIEVEMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICANS

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The achievement of many racial and ethnic groups in America is markedly dissimilar. An important factor in achievement appears to be the individual's psychological and cultural orientation towards achievement, particularly his psychological need to excel and the extent to which he personally values achievement and success. Moreover, studies have shown that many racial and ethnic groups differ in their orientation toward achievement and that these differences contribute to the dissimilarities in their achievement and success.[1]

Rosen proposes three components of achievement orientation: one psychological; two cultural. These are achievement motivation, achievement value orientations, and educational and vocational aspirations. He has named this motive-value-aspiration complex the achievement syndrome.[2]

This study has attempted to examine variations in achievement motivation, values, and aspirations among Mexican-American students and to determine how this motive-value-aspiration complex affects educational achievement. Data were collected and analyzed on 126 junior high school students and their families. An interivew was conducted with each of these families. These students were asked to complete a questionnaire and the non-verbal portions of the short-form of the California Test of Mental Maturity. In addition, mathematics and English grades from the 1968 Spring semester were recorded along with scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills which was administered by the school system. Factor analytic techniques and Guttman scaling were used to generate a series of measures that describe the achievement training and independence training that the child experiences in the home, his self-concept, achievement value orientations and educational aspirations.

Achievement motivation, values, and aspirations have their origins in the home as evidenced by a growing body of research. Factor analysis of data from a student questionnaire administered to junior high school students revealed several distinct dimensions characterizing the achievement training to which students are subjected in the home. The parents demand for achievement in the form of grades appears to be independent of their desire for their children to complete high school. Parental emphasis on high school graduation appears in turn to be independent of emphasis on attending college. These three demands, as experienced by the junior high school students sampled in the present study seem to characterize the attitude in the home toward formal education. Another of the factors extracted from the student data indicates the degree to which children report that their parents assist them with schoolwork.

It is rather significant to note that there appears to be little difference between Mexican-American families and Anglo-American families with respect to the amount of achievement training that the child experiences in his home. This finding suggests that attributing the relatively low achievement of Mexican-American students to a lack of achievement motivation on the part of students and parents as educators are prone to do is seriously in error. Only in those Mexican-American families that retain the Spanish language almost exclusively in the home do students experience less stress on completing high school and attending college. Such a family context may inhibit achievement in the school since these children enter the educational system with linguistic and cultural handicaps. The results of this study demonstrate that even their general level of intellectual ability as measured by a test of non-verbal ability is substantially below that of other students. Scores on both achievement tests which indicate progress in school-related subject areas, specifically language skills and arithmetic skills, reveal the results of this handicap. Gordon and others[3] also found in their studies of Mexican-American youth in Los Angeles that home language was related to educational aspirations of students and to differences in reading comprehension, mathematics achievement, and IQ scores.

Moreover, there appears to be a dual system of grading in these schools since the grades of Mexican-American students are higher than one would expect on the basis of achievement test scores. At the same time the grades of their Anglo classmates more closely mirror their scores on standardized achievement measures. Such a practice has also been observed in the Los Angeles public schools by Gordon and others. Faced with the difficult job of socializing large numbers of Mexican-American children the schools apparently ascribe enough success to students in the form of grades to move them through the school during the years of compulsory attendence. The assignment of high marks obscures the fact that many of these students have not attained a satisfactory level of academic achievement. Moreover, Gordon[4] has pointed out that under-socialization creates an insidious school environment, especially at the junior high school level, which accentuates the handicaps that such students experience. If the schools fail to compensate for these handicaps, as suggested by the findings of this study and the Coleman[5] report, Mexican-American children can be expected to experience severe problems of acculturation which m[illegible]t difficult for them to particpate in our society.

The development of achievement motivation also appears to be strongly related to the amount of independence training that the child experiences in the home. As a result of his studies of adolescents in North Carolina and Ohio Elder concluded:

> Direct attempts to infuse a child with greater interest in school and to force and reward greater academic effort appear less fruitful than child rearing practices which indirectly induce high achievement. Active independence training, perhaps more than any other variable we have examined, seems to inculcate a desire to achieve. Such training presumably places the stimuli for achievement within the adolescent and not solely in the actions of parents, thereby enabling independent self-sustaining effort in learning.[6]

It is here that the socialization of the Mexican-American child appears to differ from that of the Anglo child. The Mexican-American students included in this study reported experiencing significantly less independence training than their Anglo peers. The amount of autonomy granted to the child by the father in making decisions increased as the father's educational level rose. Also the higher the level of education, the greater the reliance on a rational approach to discipline with attempts to explain to the child the reason for rules and the necessity for punishment when these rules are broken. At the same time it is rather surprising to note that the fathers of Mexican-American girls are more democratic with their daughters than they are with their sons of the same age. This finding runs counter to the belief that Mexican-American families shelter their daughters while at the same time they expect their sons to assert their manhood. While the father's approach to child rearing appears to be related to the amount of formal education to which he has been exposed, the Mexican-American children studied viewed their mothers as far more autocratic than did their Anglo classmates. What is more, the amount of autonomy granted to the

Mexican-American child by his mother does not appear to be a function of the mother's educational level or of the amount of English spoken in the home.

This finding is of particular importance since the level of independence training to which Mexican-American students are subjected appears to be highly related to their level of achievement in the schools. When coupled with the low educational level of Mexican-American parents this lack of autonomy, especially for Mexican-American boys, may have several consequences. Wilson[7] found sex differences in achievement to be strongly related to the relative amounts of autonomy permitted boys and girls. He found boys who were granted more autonomy to be concerned with causality; whereas girls who were granted less autonomy were found to be preoccupied with correctly performing assigned tasks.

Moreover, Schwartz[8] found Mexican-American high school girls to be far more independent of family authority but more dependent upon peers than either Mexican-American boys or Anglo students regardless of sex. At the same time Mexican-American boys were found to be highly dependent upon family authority even at the senior high school level. On the one hand, selective factors may operate to determine which girls remain in school when they have passed the compulsory attendance age. On the other hand, the greater level of independence training experienced by Mexican-American junior high school girls may also account for their greater independence from their families when they reach senior high school.

For boys this lack of independence training may have even more severe consequences. Since the socializing influence of the school's context is strongest at the junior high level and decreases with each passing year of senior high school, the relative lack of autonomy granted to Mexican-American boys may seriously inhibit their identification with new reference groups and consequently retard the acquisition of new values and behavior important to social mobility and to future achievement. Ironically, the lack of autonomy granted to Mexican-American boys who were included in this study may vitiate the greater parental stress on attending college that they report experiencing. At the same time Anglo children reported experiencing much more autonomy in relations with their parents. Also independence training does not appear to be related to any of the measures of achievement among these students. This suggests that once some threshold is reached variations in independence training may cease to influence achievement.

Moreover, independence training has also been linked to the development of self-esteem or self-concept. The findings of this study indicate a ubiquitous lack of confidence among the Mexican-American students included in the sample. These students on the whole doubt their ability to complete high school and succeed in college. They also appraise their own ability as lower than their peers. Again, this finding takes on added significance when it is noted that self-concept of ability and independence training are the two most important predictors of achievement among Mexican-American students included in this study.

Important differences in achievement values were also noted. Mexican-American students apparently view occupational success as important. In fact those junior high school students studied placed a higher valuation on occupational success than did their Anglo peers despite the low level of occupational attainment of their fathers. At the same time, these students were far more fatalistic about their futures and were more skeptical about the value of planning ahead than their Anglo classmates. This high valuation that Mexican-American students place upon occupational success coupled with the fatalistic attitude manifested by these same students may indicate a great deal of latent frustration with aspirations exceeding expectations.

This gap combined with the low independence training that Mexican-American students experience may result in low self-concept of ability and subsequently impede both educational and occupational performance.

The results of a stepwise regression analysis suggest that there may be a lag or delay in both the socialization and the cognitive development of Mexican-American students at a time when the socializing influence of the school's social context is probably the greatest. Independence training appears to have been accomplished and no longer affects achievement among Anglo students by the time they have reached junior high school. Other studies have shown that identification with peers affects both self-image and value orientations at this point in the educational process as students begin to identify with new reference groups. The focus of achievement training in the home appears to have shifted from language development to the development of quantitative skills and emphasis on obtaining high grades in preparation for college entrance. This interpretation is partially supported by the relation of occupational primacy to Anglo achievement scores. The negative relationship suggests that high achieving students who are most likely college bound reject the traditional view of job related success as being their primary goal.

Among Mexican-American junior high school students, however, independence training continues to exert a strong influence on achievement, possibly inhibiting identification with new reference groups outside of the family. Mexican-American students are not as autonomous or as self-reliant as their classmates. The focus of achievement training within their families appears to be on the development of adequate language skills. Moreover, achievement training apparently continues to influence the development of logical and quantitative reasoning among Mexican-American students, an influence that was not detected among the Anglo junior high school students studied.

These findings are generally supported by those of Coleman's study. He reports that of all the family and school variables studied that the student's interest in school, self-concept with regard to learning and his sense of control of his environment evidenced the strongest relation to achievement. Schwartz, in addition, found the gap between the self-esteem of Mexican-American and Anglo pupils to be greater at the senior high level than at the junior high level suggesting that as Anglo students become more self-assured with increased exposure to the school environment, Mexican-American students suffer a loss of self-esteem as awareness of their minority group status increases. If this finding is correct, then the future of many of these students, who by the time they reach the ninth grade already manifest a negative self-image and a fatalistic outlook regarding their future, is rather grim. For many of them, the additional high school years apparently will only reinforce these negative views. The inability of Mexican-American students to free themselves from the influence of their families resulting in the lack of socialization as evidenced by the fatalistic outlook of these students along with their lack of faith in their own ability as well as in the efficacy of planning for the future may remain to inhibit achievement as the child moves on to high school, and ultimately into college, or into the labor market.

FOOTNOTES

1. W. L. Warner and L. Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, values, and Achievement," in David C. McClelland, et al. (eds.) Talent and Society (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958) pp. 135-194; Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review 24 (1959) pp. 47-60; Florence Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in value orientations (Evanston: Row Peterson, 1961).

2. Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review 21 (1956) pp. 203-211.

3. C. Wayne Gordon, et al., Educational Achievement and Aspirations of Mexican-American Youth in a Metropolitan Context (Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Evaluation, University of California, Los Angeles, Occasional Report No. 36, 1968).

4. Ibid.

5. James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

6. Glen H. Elder, Jr., Adolescent Achievement and Mobility Aspirations (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1962) pp. 94-95.

7. Alan Wilson, "Sex Differences in Education," Unpublished Monograph, University of California, Berkeley, 1966.

8. Audrey J. Schwartz, "Affectivity Orientations and Academic Achievement of Mexican-American Youth," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1967.

SOME FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENTIAL GRADE PERFORMANCE OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND NON-MEXICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Although there is a comparative abundance of studies concerning Mexican American educational achievement on the elementary and high school levels,[1] we have few published studies of Mexican American college student performance. Available data, however, suggest the presence of problems well worth investigating. In 1960, writes Joan Moore, "Only 13% of the Mexican Americans graduated from college against 23% of the Anglos...roughly half as many Mexican American young women attend - or complete - college as do men. [2] The University of Texas at Austin, reports Thomas P. Carter, had a total Spanish-surname enrollment (and this includes foreign students) of approximately 2.8 per cent of the entire University in 1966-67, or about one-sixth of the percentage of Mexican Americans in the State of Texas.[3] Carter's data for the same year from seven southwestern colleges and universities [4] show that Spanish-surname students begin freshman year "at percentages approximating 50% of their percentage in the local population," but"apparently suffer from a higher attrition rate than other groups." [5] The gap between freshman year and sophomore year is particularly striking: for men, the drop is from 16% to 11%; for women, from 10% to 6%.

Padilla and Long at the University of New Mexico, using the 1963 entering class at the University, calculated in 1968 the percentages, respectively, of Spanish-American and "other" students who had dropped out of college. The percentages of both groups were high: for "others," 61%; for Spanish-surname, 70%. [6] A five-year study at the University of Arizona contains the following dismaying computation concerning Spanish-surname students: "For every one of these students who successfully completes a degree within a given period of five years, approximately four of his peers will tend possibly to withdraw or to drop out for a semester or more." [7]

Explanations have been advanced for these manifest disparities. The Arizona study just cited lists the college students' own reasons for " fading out": financial problems are rated highest; health and job interference follow; military service is fourth. Ralph Guzman of the University of California at Santa Cruz takes another tack: he charges the universities themselves with unpreparedness. They "often hold to rigid admissions standards and teaching norms that make academic success for youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds difficult." The universities, he continues, also "have a low degree of interaction with surrounding communities." [8] These and other factors may well be associated with the statistics presented above. But we still have a paucity of data and still fewer attempts to explore the "whys" of the discouraging picture to be found in most southwestern institutions of higher education.

The present study is a limited attempt to begin to fill this " data gap," using as a dependent variable. the 1969 spring semester grade point average of students at the University of Texas at El Paso. Slightly over 30% of a student body of 10,500 students are Americans of Mexican descent. These statistics are the basis of the University's claim to have the largest Mexican American enrollment of any college or university in the United States. The University finds itself, not surprisingly, beset by the same problems discussed so far. The drop-out rate of Mexican American students: fall semester enrollment statistics for 1969 showed 36% of the freshman class to be Mexican American; the figures drop to 32%, 28%, 24%, and 22% for sophomore, junior, senior, and graduate statuses, respectively. 9 These statistics are more meaningful when one considers that the El Paso area is almost 50% Mexican American in population.

The present study stems from the author's experience in teaching and grading Spanish-surname students at this University. These students as a group appeared to perform at a less satisfactory level than other students. It was decided at the beginning of the spring semester of 1969 to administer a questionnaire to all students taking introductory sociology. A total of 782 students filled out the questionnaire. Of these, 760 were found to be usable. Items to be correlated with semester grade point average were chosen on the basis of what other studies had deemed significant for various facets of Mexican American school performance. 10 The items were grouped into three categories of independent variables: (1) family factors, such as sex of student, number of siblings living at home, combined parental income, parents' educational attainment, amount of Spanish spoken in the home; (2) "modifiers" of home background : high school attended and high school senior year academic performance and standing; (3) "contemporary" experiences: marital status, veteran status, and number of hours per week of employment. The major dependent variable, semester grade point average, was obtained at the end of the spring semester, 1969, from the registrar's office at the University and added to each questionnaire.

The analysis decided upon in this presentation divides the respondents into two groups: those checking "Mexican (or Spanish) American"in the item asking for "my predominant ethnic background " and those checking "Anglo-American" in the same item. The sizes of the resulting groups from the usable questionnaires are 252 Mexican American respondents (non-U.S. citizens were excluded) and 452 "Anglo-American"respondents. 11

Semester grade point average was divided into three categories. The lowest, "below 2.0," includes but does not solely comprise probationary students (generally those scoring below 1.5); as a general category, it indicates unsatisfactory academic performance, i.e., the student is "in trouble." The "C" students form the second category (2.0-2.9); those making Bs and As occupy the third grouping, 3.0+.

Analysis

Table 1 displays the basic "grade gap" between the two groups of students. Note that Mexican American students differ from Anglo American students on each end of the grade spectrum by almost identical percentage points: 12% more Mexican Americans appear in the below 2.0 group, and 13% less in the 3.0+ category.

Other " family factor" controls such as sex and number of siblings do not significantly alter the basic relationships observable in Table 1. The expected positive relationship between grade point average and family income occurs among Mexican American students, though higher income proves of very slight advantage to 3.0+ students(Table 2). The Anglo students provide the surprise here: among 3.0 students, a striking inverse relationship appears between grade point average and family income, a finding which will receive comment in the conclusion of the study.

Table 1. Semester Grade Point Averages of Mexican American and Anglo American Students

Student Ethnicity	Semester G P A				
	Below 2.0	2.0-2.9	3.0-4.0	Incomplete	Total
Mexican American	47% (118)	39% (98)	10% (25)	4% (11)	100% (252)
Anglo-American	35% (162)	32% (155)	23% (104)	8% (31)	98% (452)

Table 2. Combined Parental Income of Mexican American American and Anglo-American Students and Semester Grade Point Average

(MA= Mexican American; AA= Anglo-American)

	Semester G P A									
	Below 2.0		2.0-2.9		3.0-4.0		Incomplete		Total	
Parental Income	MA	AA	MA	AA	MA	AA	MA	AA	MA	AA
Below $5000	54%(37)	34%(12)	32%(22)	14%(5)	10%(7)	40% (14)	4% (3)	11%(4)	100%(69)	99%(35)
$5000-9999	41 (44)	36(43)	44 (48)	38(46)	11(12)	21 (25)	4 (4)	5 (6)	100(108)	100(1[illegible])
$10,000 and over	48 (14)	36(79)	31 (9)	33(73)	14 (4)	22 (49)	7 (2)	7(19)	100(29)	98(2[illegible])

Educational levels of both mother and father both turned out to be poor predictor's of academic success (in fact, a moderate inverse relationship appears between mother's educational attainment and academic success for both groups, though more accentuated for Mexican Americans). Nor, contrary to expectations, was amount of Spanish spoken at home significantly correlated with academic success, with the single exception of those who indicated Spanish was always spoken at home. Twenty-seven of the 52 students in this group fell below 2.0, while only two attained 3.0+. "Mixed" language usage at home, however, does not clearly seem to be detrimental to academic success on the college level.

The second set of controls - those concerning high school experience - should, it was anticipated, indicate a higher level of performance from Mexican American students who attended high schools where they were a minority of the student body. Precisely the opposite results appeared in this study. Fifty-two percent of Mexican American students from two schools of this type fell below 2.0, while 40% of students from two practically all-Mexican American high schools performed similarly. Their respective percentages in the 3.0+ category were 3% and 17%. Furthermore, when additional controls were inserted for senior year high school grade point average, only one out of nineteen Mexican American graduating with 3.0 senior year averages (from schools of low ethnic concentration) obtained a similar college GPA, whereas 6 out of 23 Anglo American graduates with comparable high school records so achieved in college

A possible interpretation of this result points to the phenomenon discovered by Gordon and associates, i.e., in precisely this type of school, teachers grading practices tend to be ascriptive, i.e., they tend to "overgrade" minority group pupils on the assumption that "most of them" are destined for lower status positions anyway, and that some upgrading reduces potential friction between school and community - "trying to keep everybody happy."[12]

Marital and veteran status made little impact on the basic pattern of grade differentiation indicated in Table 1, though Anglo-American veterans performed notably better than Anglo-American non-veterans. Number of hours working appeared to have a greater depressive effect upon Mexican American than upon Anglo-American grade performance. Through a regrettable oversight, however, number of class hours taken by each student was not asked for, severely diminishing the real value of this question

An optimistic note is given to the study by a control for class standing. Mexican American students who make it past freshman year begin rapidly to catch up with Anglo-Americans in subsequent years of their university "careers." Though the "ns" are unfortunately small for junior and senior years, the data show no appreciable intergroup discrepancy on the 3.0-4.0 level, though the gap continues in the below 2.0 category.

Conclusions

The lack of significant relationships between family background factors and grade performance for Mexican American students may simply mean that the sorting process by which high school students make it to college (a process including their high school experience) involves an overcoming of factors seemingly handicapping the majority. College students are those who have triumphed, in one way or another, over these factors.

But the poor performance of students from schools of mixed ethnicity, plus the inverse relationship between Anglo-American parental income and GPA points to another explanation. The University of Texas at El Paso, like many another community-college-recently-made-university, has not as yet attained community prestige sufficient to attract the area's best high school students, *regardless of ethnicity*. As a result, parents from higher income brackets, both Mexican and Anglo-American, who can afford to send their sons and daughters (providing their high school performance permits) out of town to more prestigious universities, actually do so. The poorer performing Anglo American students from higher income families are precisely those classifiable as "residuals" - they could not make it to one of the more "desirable" out-of-city universities. Higher performing Anglo-American veterans and married students are those with lesser mobility who would be expected to remain in the area.

The study also suggests quite tentatively that recruiting teams, particularly from southwestern institutions of prestige who have recently developed an"interest" in Mexican American students, are making inroads into the pool of better-equipped Mexican American freshmen. Further research is called for at this point. No community institution, however, can be satisfied with a situation quite damaging to its collective pride. The very students it is"losing" (as gainful as the scholarships may be to the students themselves) mean an absence of those very students who might critically challenge the institution to improve its resources - faculty, library, special programs, e.g., an honors tutorial, and thus be in a position to compete with out-of-city recruiters who seem to be doing their work quite well.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. James E. Heathman and Cecilia J. Martinez, *Mexican American Education: A Selected Bibliography* (Las Cruces, N.M.: Educational Resources Information Center, New Mexico State University, 1969). A good coverage of these studies is also found in Thomas P. Carter, *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect*(New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970).

2. Joan Moore, *Mexican Americans: Problems and Prospects* (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 23.

3.Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

4. The institutions are the University of Arizona, University of California at Riverside, University of Colorado, California State College at Los Angeles, Northern Arizona University, the University of Texas (Austin), and New Mexico Highlands University.

5. Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 31, Table 6.

6. Amado M. Padilla and Karl K. Long, "An Assessment of Successful Spanish-American Students at the University of New Mexico," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Psychological Association, Albuquerque, N.M., 1969.

7. The University of Arizona, "Indications of Trends in Academic Progress of Spanish-surname Students, 1962-1967," Tucson, Arizona (mimeographed), 1967.

8. Ralph Guzman, "Compensatory Education on the College Level for Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds," paper presented to the personnel of the U.S. Office of Education, Los Angeles, California, January, 1967.

9. Data on the University of Texas at El Paso supplied by the University's Office of Educational Research.

10. Cf. Wayne C. Gordon, *et. al.*, *Educational Achievement and Aspirations of Mexican-American Youth in a Metropolitan Context,* in Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman, eds., *The Mexican American People* (New York: The Free Press, forthcoming). Cf. also George W. Mayeske, "Educational Achievement Among Mexican-Americans: A Special Report from the Educational Opportunities Survey," Unofficial analysis of The Coleman Report (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Office of Education, Technical Note 22, January 7, 1967).

11. The remaining categories with corresponding numbers of respondents were Negro (Afro-)American, 19; American Indian, 1; Oriental, 2; Foreign Students, 6; Other, 27.

12. C. Wayne Gordon, *et. al.*, "The Educational Gap," in Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman, *op. cit.*

DIFFERENCES IN THE OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROJECTIONS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND DROPOUT AGE PEERS*

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Abstract

Almost all studies of youth aspirations and expectations are restricted to students and, although this does not provide a representative sample of age cohorts, researchers and others tend to generalize from these findings to all youth. This is a particularly precarious practice in reference to minority groups and rural youth because of their generally high dropout rates from school. Very few studies exist to provide findings on the nature of status achievement projections of school dropouts (Miller, et. al., 1964, p. 82). Furthermore, status aspirations and expectations of school dropouts have never been explored in a context that assures valid comparison with in-school age peers on multiple dimensions of status projections.

We know that aspirations and expectations for job and educational attainment are unrealistically high for all kinds of youth and theories of "occupational choice" indicate that degree of realism of status projections is importantly influenced by proximity in time to decision making regarding job placement. This leads to the proposition that dropouts should have lower level aspirations and expectations than their in-school age peers. The purpose of this paper is to explore this proposition and related ideas as they pertain to Mexican American teenagers, using data from about 600 high school sophomores and 75 dropout age peers residing in four nonmetropolitan South Texas counties (Wright, 1968; Juarez, 1968; Wages, et. al., 1969). We compared the Mexican American students and dropouts on the following dimensions of occupational and educational status projections: level of aspiration, level of expectation, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation.

Our findings clearly show that school dropouts had lower aspirations and expectations for both job and educational achievement, Tables 1 and 2. Also, the two groupings did not differ substantially in reference to rate of anticipatory goal deflection experienced, Table 3. While the two groupings did not differ substantially in regard to intensity of desire for job goals, they did in reference to intensity of educational aspiration -- the dropouts indicating generally weaker desires, Table 4. Converse patterns of differences were observed for certainty of occupational and educational expectations: the students were more certain about their projected education and dropouts more sure of expected occupations, Table 5.

In conclusion, within the context of our data, high school sophomores maintained higher level aspirations and expectations and a stronger intensity of desire

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for their status goals than dropouts. However, the dropouts did not experience less anticipatory goal deflection nor were they markedly more certain of obtaining their expectations as compared with their in-school peers. In the main, our conclusions indicate that generalizations derived for entire age cohorts of teen-agers from studies of only school students may be grossly misleading, particularly in reference to aspiration and expectation levels. Of course, the magnitude of error involved in this would be dependent upon the extent of the dropout phenomenon among any particular population.

ANALYSIS TABLES

A. Aspiration and Expectation Levels

Table 1. Occupational Aspiration and Expectation Levels of Mexican American In-School Youth and Their Dropout Age Peers.

Occupational Level	Aspirations		Expectations	
	In-School	Dropouts	In-School	Dropouts
	PERCENT			
High (Prof. and Glamour)	56	16	37	7
Intermediate (Residual)	36	72	47	47
Low (Unskilled B.C.)	5	12	13	46
No Information	3	0	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100

$x^2=45.0$, D.F.=2, $P<.001$ $x^2=60.42$, D.F.=2, $P<.001$

Table 2. Educational Aspiration and Expectation Levels of Mexican American In-School Youth and Their Dropout Age Peers.

Educational Level	Aspirations		Expectations	
	In-School	Dropouts	In-School	Dropouts
	PERCENT			
Low (High School or less)	21	66	32	71
Intermediate (High school plus)	28	18	30	19
High (College graduate)	51	16	38	9
No Information	0	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100

$x^2=71.9$, D.F.=2, $P<.001$ $x^2=46.1$, D.F.=2, $P<.001$

B. Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Table 3. Nature of Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational and Educational Aspirations of Mexican American In-School Youth and Their Dropout Age Peers.

Nature of Deflection	Occupation		Education	
	In-School	Dropouts	In-School	Dropouts
	PERCENT			
None	60	53	61	59
Positive	8	7	7	15
Negative	29	40	31	26
No Information	3	0	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100

$x^2=1.3$, D.F.=2, $P>.50$ $x^2=5.6$, D.F.=2, $P<.10$

C. Intensity of Aspirations

Table 4. Intensity of Occupational and Educational Aspirations Maintained by Mexican American In-School Youth and Their Dropout Age Peers.

Intensity of Aspiration	Occupational		Educational	
	In-School	Dropouts	In-School	Dropouts
	PERCENT			
Strong	70	58	86	43
Intermediate	26	35	9	32
Weak	3	6	4	22
No Information	1	1	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100
	$x^2=4.4$, D.F.=2, $P<.20$		$x^2=84.2$, D.F.=2, $P<.001$	

D. Certainty of Expectation

Table 5. The Degree of Certainty Associated with Occupational and Educational Expectations Held by Mexican American In-School Youth and Their Dropout Age Peers.

Degree of Certainty	Occupational		Educational	
	In-School	Dropouts	In-School	Dropouts
	PERCENT			
Very Certain or Certain	35	52	50	34
Not Very Certain	52	31	45	53
Uncertain or Very Uncertain	10	14	5	12
No Information	3	3	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100
	$x^2=14.9$, D.F.=2, $P<.001$		$x^2=10.2$, D.F.=2, $P<.01$	

RELEVANT RESEARCH LITERATURE

A. General Overviews on the Dropout

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(1966) Lucius F. Cervantes. The Dropout: Causes and Cures. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press).

(1968) Daniel Schreiber (ed.). Profile of the School Dropout. (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, Inc.).

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(1968) Rumaldo Z. Juarez and William P. Kuvlesky. "Ethnic Group Identity and Orientations Toward Educational Attainment: A Comparison of Mexican American and Anglo Boys." (Paper presented at annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association).

(1968) David E. Wright, Jr. and William P. Kuvlesky. "Occupational Status Projections of Mexican American Youth Residing in the Rio Grande Valley." (Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association).

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MENTAL HEALTH IN WORK ORGANIZATIONS: A RE-EXAMINATION

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The relationship between factors and forces centered in work organizations and the mental health of work organization employees has been a matter of increasing concern to mental health professionals over the past decade.[1] This appears to be the result of several factors: a broadening of etiological concerns beyond such institutions as the family and the school, increased attention to the role of environmental factors in "here and now" situations as complements to life history data, and a pragmatic concern of industrial management over their possible legal responsibility for the mental health of employees.[2] Despite these interests, few studies have appeared which approximate epidemiological designs, such that patterns of social distributions of mental disorders are largely unknown.[3] The purpose of this paper is to consider the design and results of the sole major epidemiological study in this area, consider its implications for the measurement of mental health, and to present some general findings from a comparable study recently completed by the present authors.

The sole study referred to is that reported by Arthur Kornhauser in 1965.[4] Kornhauser's research design involved the measurement of "mental health" among a large sample of automobile workers in Detroit. The major findings of the study were that mental health levels declined as occupational level declined, and that mental health levels were typically poorest in those occupations involving highly repetitive tasks.[5] These results are not only congruent with Major Marxist hypotheses, but also were clearly within the long tradition of research data that has indicated an inverse relationship between social class and mental disorder[6] as well as congruent with data indicating that those from lower classes have relatively poor coping abilities when faced by stresses.[7] Thus it appears that this body of data has been accepted into the social psychiatric literature because of its congruence with existing data rather than through assessment of its methodological merits.

A scrutiny of this study raises several doubts as to its conclusiveness regarding industrial mental health. The major issue revolves around Kornhauser's ad hoc construction of an index of mental health which is theoretically problematic. First, as is well known, there is considerable controversy surrounding the concept of mental health as well as the operationalization of such concepts.[8] Thus, not only are there few grounds on which to assess the validity of such a measure, but most previous social psychiatric research has been carried out with the use of measurements of mental disorder rather than mental health. Aside from this matter, there are clearcut indications that Kornhauser's operational definition was biased in favor of middle-class culture, thus in part predetermining that lower class workers would score poorly. In sum, this research design did not generate data which is comparable with other epidemiological studies, and definitely did not locate factors that are associated with mental disorder in work organizations. Kornhauser, a psychologist, clearly recognizes some of these difficulties, and exonerates himself by arguing that his research concern was with "positive mental health." Our criticisms are directed toward the acceptance of these data in the literature as being within the framework of research on the epidemiology of mental disorder.[9]

If newly generated data are going to be useful to social psychiatry in terms of contributing to theory construction (or, more modestly, replicative hypothesis testing), then it appears essential to use comparable operational definitions. Although the consideration of "positive mental health" is in the tradition of psychological theorists such as Allport and Maslow, it constitutes a concern quite different from the sociology of mental illness. In sum, we argue that more immediately useful data are generated if research attempts are oriented to some form of measurement of mental disorder.

In undertaking epidemiological research in work organization settings, several pragmatic concerns set limits on the way such measurement can be undertaken. The ideal research arrangement calls for relations with research sites which are not of a consultative nature, but rather of the type where the researcher is not bound to answering questions set forth by management. Setting up such an "outsider role" in the case of the present study precluded the use of several methods for the price of objectivity.[10] We were not able to delve into medical records to establish who had been diagnosed mentally ill and then establish their organizational status characteristics. Even if such entree had been possible, the extent of coverage is unknown since company medical departments are not the sole source of help used by employees. Second, even if resources had been available, direct psychiatric diagnosis of a representative sample of employees was precluded because of potential disruption both for organizational functioning and the morale of individual employees. Third, pilot research indicated that interviewing by non-psychiatrists in which collection of a range of psychiatric data was attempted (e.g. use of the Cornell Medical Index or the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) also proved unacceptable to respondents and the host managements due to the directedness of the questioning and the length of interviews.

The most feasible alternative proved to be use of the Health Opinion Survey instrument developed by Dorthea and Alexander Leighton and Allister MacMillan.[11] This 20-item instrument is predictive of psychiatric diagnosis of impairment and is accurate in over 60 percent of individuals interviewed.[12] Although this is far from perfect prediction, it is the best method of this type developed to date. More importantly, the questions comprise a battery which is relatively unobtrusive in terms of creating respondent discomfort since 75 percent of the items focus on psychophysiological symptoms rather than feeling states. It is noteworthy in this regard that in the 675 interviews conducted in the study, loss of respondent rapport during this part of the interview occurred in only three cases. In sum, this method is a validated prediction of a diagnosis of psychiatric impairment, it can be administered rapidly and relatively unobtrusively, and it does not generate respondent anxiety, indicating another possible input for validity of results.

Our experience indicated that this is probably the only practical method to use in work organizations, unless the researcher is involved in a consultative relationship, which in itself raises a series of new problems. The use of the method clearly fits most of the demands of an epidemiological operational definition, although it is clear that it is based on a medical model of psychiatric disorder and does not fit the approach of sociological labeling theory in which significant-other reactions are an essential criterion for a "true case" of mental disorder.[13]

The preliminary results of the analysis indicate then the inference from the Kornhauser study of an inverse relationship between occupational level and mental disorder may be an artifact of the instruments he employed. We consider here data from three clearly different types of work organization, the first a blue-collar manufacturing organization comprised primarily of semi-skilled operatives, the second a very large white collar organization where the sample was comprised of non-technical clerical workers, and the third a research and development laboratory where the sample was comprised of professional research scientists and semi-professional research technicians. We see these as comprising three clearly distinct occupational levels.

The data revealed no significant differences in psychiatric impairment as measured by the H.O.S. across these three organizations, as indicated through one-way analyses of variance. Trends in the data show the greatest impairment in the semi-skilled group, next in the clerical sample, and least in the professional group. Employing the Langner 22-item index of impairment which has been less widely validated but which is very similar to the H.O.S.[14], the same pattern of no significant inter-organizational differences was revealed. Trends in these data again showed the semi-skilled group with the greatest impairment, but here the clerical group showed the least impairment with the professional group falling in-between.

We have also attempted in the study to include other measures of general adjustment and occupational adjustment which are being used in combination with the psychiatric impairment indices to develop profiles of overall adjustment. In terms of both anomia and interpersonal trust, there are no significant differences between the semi-skilled and clerical groups, with the professional group showing significantly lower anomia and significantly higher interpersonal trust. Indices of job satisfaction and job role worries were also employed. The clerical group showed significantly poorer job satisfaction and significantly greater job worries. Interestingly, there were no significant differences between the semi-skilled and professional groups on these variables. Although our samples were quite homogenous in each organization, some preliminary analyses indicate no significant differences in psychiatric impairment between the occupational levels we are able to derive in each setting.

Although it obviously would have been desirable to conduct such analyses within the same organization in order to obtain some control over the factor of "organizational atmosphere," these results do indicate that a view of a simple inverse relationship between occupational level and mental disorder is overly simplistic. We are continuing with further analyses to specify epidemiological distributions and associations between psychiatric impairment and such work-based experiences as occupational role changes. Here preliminary analyses also run contrary to some widely held assumptions. The data indicate that experiences of organizational change may actually reduce psychiatric impairment rather than the reverse notion of the detrimental effects of change.[15]

In summary, we have attempted to indicate in this paper that generalizations from broad epidemiological studies regarding the relation between social class and psychiatric impairment may not directly apply to work organizations. There appear to be considerable differences in the data revealed depending on whether the researcher looks at "positive mental health," treated mental illness, or diagnoses of level of psychological functioning in ongoing organizational life.

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2. P. M. Roman and H. M. Trice, "Change and Mental Health: The Industrial Case," paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 1969; and H. M. Trice and J. A. Belasco, *Emotional Health and Employer Responsibility* (Ithaca, N.Y.:New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations Bulletin 57, 1966).

3. P. M. Roman, "Etiology of Psychiatric Disorders in Work Organizations," *Archives of Environmental Health* 19 (October, 1969), pp. 548-559

4. Arthur Kornhauser, *Mental Health of the Industrial Worker* (New York: John Wiley, 1965)

5. *Ibid*.

6. A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley, 1958), and Paul M. Roman and H. M. Trice, *Schizophrenia and The Poor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967).

7. T. S. Langner and S. T. Michael, *Life Stress and Mental Health* (New York: The Free Press, 1963)

8. M. Jahoda, *Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health* (New York: Basic Books, 1958).

9. These observations stem from a long series of working papers developed by a panel of medical and behavioral scientist "experts" in industrial mental health at the ongoing Cornell Occupational Mental Health Conference, which began in 1966 under the auspices of the Cornell Medical College.

10. See, for contrast, H. M. Trice, "The Outsider Role in Field Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, 41 (January 1956), pp. 27-33

11. D. C. Leighton *et al.*, *The Character of Danger* (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

12. A. M. Macmillan, "The Health Opinion Survey," *Psychological Reports* 3 (May 1957), pp. 325-339.

13. T. S. Scheff, *Being Mentally Ill* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966)

14. T. S. Langner, "A 22-Item Screening Score of Psychiatric Symptoms Indicating Impairment," *Journal of Health and Human Behavior* 3 (August 1962), pp.269-276.

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A STUDY OF "PURPOSE IN LIFE" AMONG NURSING HOME AGED

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The negative psychological reaction to entrance into a nursing home situation appears to be a well documented fact. As Shanas reports: "Almost all older people view the move to a home for the aged or to a nursing home with fear and hostility.... All old people - without exception - believe that the move to an institution is the prelude to death."[1]

Lieberman states that "...the general thrust of empirical evidence emerging from many studies suggests that living in an institutional environment may have noxious physical and psychological effects upon the individual whether young or old."[2] And as Aldrich and Mendkoff conclude in a study of the effects of relocation of aged in a nursing home "the survival rate was highest for patients who took the change in their stride or were overtly angry; patients who became anxious but did not withdraw, survived reasonably well, and patients who regressed, became depressed, or denied that the home was closing survived less well."[3] Finally, Kahana and Coe found a loss of self-concept in conjunction with the loss of roles among aged moving into a sheltered (nursing home) situation.[4]

While the adverse psychological reaction has been identified, there is a general lack of evidence indicating a one to one correspondence between entrance into a nursing home and the purported adverse psychological reaction. Riesman's autonomous model suggests that select individuals are able to find an inner experience around which to re-adapt themselves. "Men of this sort exhibit in a dramatic way the specifically human power to grow and develop on a super-physiological level (with of course, physiological consequences); as long as the body does not actively prevent, these men are immortal because of their ability to renew themselves."[5] Others lend support to the individual selectivity of the adverse reaction.[6] A prominent M.D.,[7] survivor of Auchwitz, states:

> In spite of all the enforced physical and mental primitiveness of the life in a concentration camp, it was possible for spiritual life to deepen. Sensitive people who were used to a rich intellectual life may have suffered much pain (they were often of a delicate constitution) but the damage to their inner selves was less. They were able to retreat from their terrible surroundings to a life of inner riches and spiritual freedom. Only in this way can one explain the apparent paradox that some prisoners of a less hardy make-up often seemed to survive camp life better than did those of a   robust nature.

The inner drive which allows an individual to find meaning, even in an adverse physical environment, is a uniquely human capacity especially important for the aged. The older person can experience meaning from the store of previous experiences and the restricted activity of the present.[8]

METHOD. If one accepts the assumption that an individual may be able to find a meaning for his existence within the nursing home and that hence he will be better adjusted, the problem then becomes one of operationalizing the concept of meaning in life. To measure the latter, the Crumbaugh and Maholick Purpose in Life Scale was selected (hereafter referred to as PIL). The authors (Crumbaugh and Maholick, 1964) state, "we may rationally define the phrase 'purpose in life' as the ontological significance of life from the point of view of the experiencing individual."[9]

The scale was originally designed to measure Frankl's concept of will-to-meaning. A more recent article cross validates purpose in life for eight different groups of subjects.[10] A later use of the scale attempts to correlate meaning and social action and indicated,"it is presently the only scale available which purports to measure a phenomenological dimension: the degree to which an individual is finding purpose and meaning in life."[11] The only known use of the scale with an aging population concerned the measure of meaning experienced by retired professors and retired clergymen.[12]

> Typical items to be rated from seven down to one are: "In life I have no goals or aims at all (1)--very clear goals and aims (7)." "I am a very irresponsible person (1)--a very responsible person (7)." "Every day is constantly new and different (7)--exactly the same as any other (1)." The total score is the sum of the ratings of the 20 items (Crumbaugh, 1968).

The total score values may range from a potential high of 140 to a potential low of 20. For the purposes of the present research a high PIL was defined as those individuals scoring above the median, while a low PIL was defined as those scoring below the median. (For the sample N of 58, the median score was 104.5).

Using the PIL scale as the measure of the dependent variable (meaning in life), three independent variables were arbitrarily selected. These variables have established precedence as dimensions of socio-psychological well being and will be discussed below.

First, it was suspected that the normative functions of the family could serve as a buffer against the inroads of the institutional environment. "To lose a close relative and one's home at advancing age and then to move, or be moved to another home, hospital, nursing home, or old people's home creates bewilderment, resignation and near despair."[13] The aged person who believes in the extended family situation (regardless of the "real" situation) could draw on this inner belief system of the "generalized other," in the form of a specific familial structure, in order to find meaning within the situation. On the other hand, the individual who lacked the belief system of familial relations, would not have such an inner state from which to draw.

To operationalize the family normative system, eleven questions were taken from the Mutual Aid and Affection Scale.[14] The eleven statements were either agree or disagree statements such as: "Children should take care of their parents in whatever way necessary, when they are sick. Agree___Disagree___." The eleven statements were then summed and the respondents were classified as those having extended or conjugal family norms. A score of 7 (agreement with at least 7 of the 11 items) or above was classified as extended family, while a score of less than 7 (agreement with 6 or fewer of the 11 items) was classified as conjugal family. Relative to the family normative system the specific hypothesis tested was: among the aged population in nursing homes, those who believe in extended family norms will have a significantly higher PIL score than the members of the same population who believe in conjugal family norms.

The second hypothesis dealt with the individual's subjectively perceived health. (While it may be argued that a symmetrical relationship exists between objective physical health and subjective judgment, the prime interest of the present research is subjective perception, regardless of objective criteria.) As has been noted, "...physical health is dependent not only on somatical factors, but also on the mental state and the social circumstances."[15]

To operationalize subjective health, six questions were used.[16] Such questions were asked as: "I have never felt better in my life. Agree___Disagree___.; Do you feel younger or older than your years? Younger___Older___Same as my age___." From the six questions a numerical score was derived and the sample was divided into those with better health and those with less than the best health. The total possible score ranged from a positive to a negative 12. "Better health" was defined as a score of positive six or above, while "less than the best health" was defined as a score of positive five or below. The specific hypothesis tested was: among the residents of a nursing home those individuals who perceive themselves as being in better health will have a significantly higher PIL score than those who perceive themselves as being in less than the best health.

The third independent variable concerned religiosity which is defined in this context as a traditionalistic belief in the Judeo-Christian teachings.[17] "Study after study in various parts of the nation and in different types of communities have found that the aged (like most younger people) are more apt to be church members than members of any other type of voluntary organization, and indeed, than all other associations together."[18] It[19] is also suggested that generalized anxiety and religiosity are inversely related.

To operationalize religiosity, five questions were selected that purport to measure the ideological dimension of Glock's five dimensions of religiosity.[20] The questions, in Guttman Scale form, asked the respondent to select the alternative with which he agreed. For instance: "Do you believe that the world will come to an end according to the will of God? Yes, I believe this___; I am uncertain about this___; No, I do not believe this___."

Each of the five questions contained alternatives that could be classified as either traditionally oriented or non-traditionally oriented. For the purpose of the present research, those who agreed with the traditional alternative in three or more of the questions were classified as traditionalistic. Those who agreed with the traditional alternatives in two or fewer of the questions were classified as non-traditionalistic. The hypothesis tested was: among the residents of a nursing home those who believe in the traditional teachings of religion will have a significantly higher PIL score than those who do not believe in the traditional teachings of religion.

ANALYSIS OF DATA. The data analyzed in the following tables were obtained from personal interviews with nursing home residents, who were over 65 years of age, in four communities. Only those residents who were capable of understanding the questions and communicating with the researchers were interviewed. The highest possible PIL Score was 140 and the lowest was 20. Within these extremes, the highest score recorded by any respondent was 125 and the lowest was 68. The remaining scores varied widely between these extremes. The following table summarizes the scores. The median PIL Score was computed (104.5) and used to arbitrarily categorize the respondents into high and low PIL dichotomies. Those with scores above 104.5 were classified as having high meaning in life; those below 104.5 were identified as having low meaning in life.

TABLE I - TABULAR RESULTS FROM PURPOSE IN LIFE SCALE

Number of Respondents	Scores	Percentages
4	120-125	6.90
18	110-119	31.03
14	100-109	24.14
12	90-99	20.69
6	80-89	10.34
2	70-79	3.45
2	68-69	3.45
Totals 58		100.00

Of the three hypotheses stated earlier, only one was significantly related to PIL (See Table II). Family type and PIL were not significantly related. The respondents were equally distributed in the x^2 test. Of those high in PIL, 24 indicated extended family attitudes and 5 were conjugal in orientation. Those scoring low in PIL were similarly distributed with 25 having extended family orientations and 4 conjugal family orientations.

Although health would intuitively seem to be related to PIL, the relationship was not significant. Of the respondents evaluating themselves as in a "best" state of health, 21 were in the high PIL range and 20 were in the low PIL category.

Religiosity was the only independent variable found to be significantly related to PIL. High PIL was related to a traditionalistic view of religion (22 of 37) while low PIL was related to a non-traditional attitude toward religion (10 of 11).

TABLE II

HYPOTHESES TESTED FOR RELATIONSHIP OF NURSING HOME RESIDENCE TO PURPOSE IN LIFE

		N	x^2	df	p
I.	Family Type (Extended vs Conjugal)	58	.1314	1	.70
II.	Subjectively Perceived Health (Best vs Less than best)	58	1.220	1	.30
III.	Religiosity (Traditional vs Non-traditional)	48*	8.616	1	.01

* Ten respondents were categorized into moderate traditional religion and were not included in the computation.

CONCLUSIONS. This exploratory study measured PIL of nursing home residents. Only one (religiosity) of three independent variables (religiosity, family type, and health) was significantly associated with PIL. Although earlier research (Acuff, 1967) with the instrument demonstrated a significant relationship between family type and meaning in life and subjectively perceived health and meaning in life, the aged in the earlier research were not institutionalized. The effect of the latter may be reflected in comparing the mean Purpose in Life Score of the two studies. In the earlier study of emeritus professors and retired clergymen (N=194) the mean PIL Score was 116.10. In the present exploratory study of meaning experienced by nursing home residents (N=58) the mean PIL Score was 102.15. The failure to find comparable results may lend support to studies cited in the first paragraph of this paper.

We suggest, however, that in order to accurately generalize to a population, especially an institutionalized population as nursing home residents, one must take into account the environment with which they interact. As Schooler suggests, "In a substantial number of cases, when...environment [is considered] the direction of the relationship as well as the magnitude of the relationship between social relations and morale changes."[21] However, "the environment is not simply the screen against which the dynamics of life are enacted, but rather the matrix not only from which, but within which, the quality of certain life processes is determined."[22]

FOOTNOTES

1. Ethel Shanas, "The Unmarried Old Person in the United States: Living Arrangements and Care in Illness, Myth and Fact," paper prepared for the International Social Science Seminar in Gerontology, Markaryd, Sweden (August 1963) p. 102.

2. Morton A. Lieberman, Valenica N. Prock & Sheldon S. Tobin, "Psychological Effects of Institutionalization," Journal of Gerontology 23 (July 1968) p. 343.

3. C. Knight Aldrich & Ethel Mendkoff, "Relocation of the Aged and Disabled: A Mortality Study," Middle Age and Aging, Bernice L. Neugarten, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) p. 404.

4. Eva Kahana & Rodney M. Coe, "Self and Staff Conceptions of Institutionalized Aged," *The Gerontologist* 9, No. 4, Part I (Winter 1969) p. 264.

5. David Riesman, "Some Clinical and Cultural Aspects of Aging," *American Journal of Sociology* 59 (January 1954) p. 380.

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7. Victor E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963) p. 56-57.

8. Ibid., p. 131.

9. James C. Crumbaugh & Leonard T. Maholick, "An Experimental Study in Existentialism: The Psychometric Approach to Frankl's Concept of Noogenic Neurosis," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 20 (April 1964) p. 201.

10. James C. Crumbaugh, "Cross-Validation of Purpose-In-Life Test Bases on Frankl's Concepts," *Journal of Individual Psychology* 24 (1968) pp. 74-81.

11. Alan C. Butler & Lester Carr, "Purpose in Life Through Social Action," *The Journal of Social Psychology* (1968) pp. 243-250.

12. F. Gene Acuff, "Retirement, Meaning, and Adjustment: The Emeritus Professor and Retired Clergy of a Southwestern State," University of Missouri, 1967, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation; F. Gene Acuff & Donald Allen, "Hiatus in 'Meaning': Disengagement for Retired Professors," 1970 (accepted & forthcoming in *Journal of Gerontology*); F. Gene Acuff & Benjamin Gorman, "Emeritus Professors: The Effect of Professional Activity and Religion on 'Meaning'," *Sociological Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1968) pp. 112-116.

13. Peter Townsend, "The Effects of Family Structure on the Likelihood of Admission to an Institution in Old Age: The Application of a General Theory," *Social Structure and the Family Generational Relations*, Ethel Shanas & Gordon F. Streib, eds. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965) p. 170.

14. Alan C. Kerchoff, "Nuclear and Extended Family Relationships: A Normative and Behavioral Analysis," *Social Structure and the Family Generational Relations*, Ethel Shanas & Gordon F. Streib, eds. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965) p. 99.

15. R. J. von Zonneveld, "Physical Health, A *Part of Man's Well-Being*," *Aging and Social Health in the United States and Europe*, Clark Tibbetts, ed. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959) p. 97.

16. C. Terence Pihlblad and Robert McNamara, "Social Adjustment of Elderly People in Three Small Towns," *Older People and Their Social World*, Arnold M. Rose & Warren A. Peterson, eds. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1965) pp. 51 and 58.

17. Edward C. Lehman & Donald W. Shriver, Jr., "Academic Discipline as Predictive of Faculty Religiosity," *Social Forces* (December 1968) p. 175.

18. David O. Moberg, "Religiosity in Old Age," *The Gerontologist* 5 (June 1965) p. 78.

19. Robert L. Williams & Spurgeon Cole, "Religiosity, Generalized Anxiety, and Apprehension Concerning Death," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 75 (1968) p. 115.

20. Joseph Faulkner & Gordon DeJung, "Religiosity in 5-D: An Empirical Analysis," *Social Forces* (December 1966) p. 250.

21. Kermit K. Schooler, "The Relationship Between Social Interaction and Morale of the Elderly as a Function of Environmental Characteristics." *The Gerontologist* (Spring 1969) p. 27.

22. Ibid., p. 28.

REFERENCE GROUP THEORY: AN OVERLOOKED DIMENSION IN SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY

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The normative anchorage point of social gerontology has been one of delineating the components of successful aging. Throughout the decades of investigation, there appears to be a dearth of theoretical synthesis. This paper will explore an overlooked concept, of considerable import in social psychological literature, that would link the two dominant models: the disengagement theory rooted in functional sociology and the activity theory stemming from the interactionist interpretation.

Although the tone of the literature in social gerontology is eclectic,[1] some general themes emerge that lend themselves "toward" a synthesis. The disengagement theory posits a natural equilibrium of society and the individual. Cumming and Henry, the original proponents of the theory, state that "aging is an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the aging persons and others in the social systems he belongs to."[2] The theory explains that disengagement may be initiated by the individual or by the social system. In other words, the model presumes a reciprocal understanding of the withdrawal process on the part of both society and the individual.[3] Simply and obviously, people do grow old, abilities do decline, actors do constrict activity, and ultimately people die. To this fact of existence, both individuals and the society must accommodate themselves.[4] However, some argue that these severed ties have no significant effect on the morale or adjustment of the aged. The interiority, the transfer of cathexis to his own inner life, the increased distance from previously significant social systems and the compensatory past oriented memories of his "somebody state" are primarily intrinsic. Succinctly, Cumming's and Henry's assumptions are based on the underlying modality of human development and the functional imperatives for societal continuity.

In contrast to the disengagement theory, the activity model is anchored in symbolic interaction theory[5] and is derived from the socially desirable culture of middle-age. Successful aging is defined in terms of role and attitudinal continuity; that is, one must defensively insure the maintenance of activities and attitudes of middle-age. In a recent study, Rosencranz criticizes the dominance of this theme.

> In the accumulating body of social gerontological literature an area which remains distinctively problematic relates to the adjustment role of the older person. Specifically, the most frequently used indexes of adjustment rely on criteria essentially composed of middle-age "norms" and middle-age "activity" assumptions. Thus, "good adjustment" has been operationalized as social competency, social participation, life satisfaction, and morale by contemporary investigators and very often at comparison levels commensurate with earlier age standards.[6]

Considerable empirical evidence has been marshalled in support of the activity model.[7] In contrast to the posited constriction of life space, and its concomitant condition of decreased social-emotional involvements cited in the above disengagement model, the activity proponents argue that "role-flexibility"[8] frees the older person to a more meaningful life open to a variety of choices and role patternings. Havighurst (as cited in Loether)[9] points out...

> ...that significant changes occur in an individual's role complex between the ages of 50 and 75. Some roles are reduced or discontinued, some are intensified, others are intensified with effort and still others are assumed for the first time. Some older persons intensify their homemaker roles (e.g., by gardening, decorating, repairing, or entertaining); others play more active roles in their churches. Roles that may be intensified with some effort include roles as citizens, members of friendship groups, and members of extended families. Participation in recreational activities may be increased. Creative activities may be undertaken. Among the new roles that might be assumed for the first time are the grandparent role and the role of member of a senior citizen's organization.

However, Havighurst goes on to say that too much success in playing a particular role may lead to rigidity rather than to role flexibility.

The two models dominating the literature both address themselves to the social-psychological conditions of aging. However, they hold differing and implicit assumptions about the quantity and quality of adjustment or morale accompanying the aging process. On the one hand, the activity theorists seem to be saying that the older person cannot be well adjusted because he is alienated from the source of adjustment; namely, continued contact with the social system that alone dispenses "togetherness of individual and society." Maddox notes that social interaction theory seems implicit in the activity theory. "It is assumed that notions of the self vis-a-vis the environment emerge, are validated, and are sustained or changed primarily in interaction with others.[11]

On the other hand, the disengagement theorists seem more oriented toward the Riesman autonomous model in terms of the source of adjustment. The older person can experience meaning from the store of previous experiences and the restricted activity of the present; "Was Du erlebt kann keine Macht der Welt Dir rauben" (What you have experienced, no power on earth can take from you).[12] Neugarten[13] suggests the "most striking phenomena to be seen in these Kansas City cases were the abilities of aged men and women to synthesize, to rationalize, and reorganize experience." In social psychological terms, the derivative of adjustment and meaning for the disengagement oriented might be the actors non-participatory reference group (past, present and future) while the activity theorists would posit meaning only to present symbiotic participation in a member-reference group.

Although not a theory of adjustment, an innovative concept of policy making import was introduced by Peterson and the late Arnold Rose. Critical of the inconclusive evidence for either theory, they suggested a synthesizing framework of research in social gerontology, generally referred to as the sub-culture theme.

In support of their theoretical suggestion, Rose cites eight specific instances (emerging from three broad trend types - demographic, ecological, and social organizational) that enhance subculture formation.[14] He contends that these developments lead the older population to view themselves as a viable group and not merely a category.[15]

Although disengagement, activity, and subculture themes have pervaded the literature, the concept of reference groups seems conspicuously absent and might be a pivotal and theoretical base that integrates, synthesizes, and organizes the above concepts into a more manageable framework. That is, reference groups may be the antecedent and consequential life anchorages to which the older person identifies for meaning to his behavior and experiences.

The term "reference group" is generally credited to Hyman, 1942.[16] Since then, Shibutani, Sherif, Kelly, Krech, Newcomb, Pollis, Rose, and Kuhn etc. have redefined and variously operationalized the concept. Shibutani suggests:

> To understand what any man does, it is essential to see the world as he experiences it, and the comprehension of what a man does requires a record of (1) his definition of the situation, (2) the kind of creature he believes himself to be, and (3) the audience before which he tries to maintain his self-respect."[17]

More specifically, Shibutani defines the concept as "that group, real or imaginary, whose standpoint is being used as the frame of reference by the actor."[18] Shibutani's definition parallels Merton's "social frame of reference," W. I. Thomas' "definition of the situation," and other classic sociologists such as Weber, and Cooley. Sherif's classical definition states that: "reference groups are those groups to which the individual relates himself as a member or aspires to relate himself psychologically...the persons reference group may be geographically or socially remote from him."[19] Kelly clarified, and added to, the term in his two dimensional functional analysis of reference groups - the normative and the comparative.

> A group can assume this function (normative) of norm-setting and norm-enforcement whenever it is in the position to deliver rewards or punishments for conformity or non-conformity...A group functions as a comparison reference group for an individual to the extent that the behavior, attitudes, circumstances, or other characteristics of its members represent standards of comparison points which he uses in making judgments or evaluations."[20]

Therefore, not all reference groups are organized entities. They may be mere collectivities, social categories or groups out of the past or even not yet born.[21] Krech and Crutchfield feel that a reference group is "any group with which an individual identifies himself such that he tends to use the group as a standard for self-evaluation and as a source of his personal values and goals."[22] Newcomb et. al. state: "It should now be clear that a group is a reference group for an individual with respect to a certain object when the group and its attitude towards the object are part of the same system as the individual's own attitudes toward the object.[23]

From a psychologist viewpoint, Pollis attempts to summarize the content of reference group theory with a new psycho-social definition.

> A reference group, then can be taken to mean any matrix of ego-attitudes which define individual behavioral and experiential predispositions given a class of stimuli actuated by a significant psychic socio-cultural world, where that world may or may not be contingent upon some kind of tangible sociological unit.[24]

The late Rose adds a note about reference groups that deserves attention in terms of vocabulary specificity,

> I would prefer calling them "reference relationships" rather than "reference groups," since the term "group" usually refers to a number of individuals, whereas a "relationship" can be to only one other person

> or to oneself alone. Also, the term "group" is sometimes confused with a collectivity or agglomeration of individuals in which no relationship is involved, such as people aged 10-20, an audience in a darkened theater, or the observers of a given advertisement. A *relationship* occurs when - and only when - role-taking is involved among the persons in the group.
>
> While I have said that a reference relationship is one which is valued highly, the term is obviously relative; except for the very lowest one, every reference relationship is higher than some other one. We must think of reference relationships as forming a continuum from high to low with some of the low ones possibly even having a negative value. *Negative reference relationships* seem typically to occur when a person is forced into having the relationship against his personal values, and is obliged to act in accord with the expectations for one in the relationship,...
>
> Mead used the terms "significant other" and "significant others," but these do not allow for the "other" to be oneself, nor do they imply that there are *degrees* of significance. The concept of "reference relationship" seems best because it permits the "other" to be a single individual, a group, or even oneself in the case of a narcissistic individual. It also permits one to have degrees of "reference" or "significance" in the relationship, even down to a negative value."[25]

Further elaboration and vocabulary proliferation of the reference group concept was suggested by Kuhn.[26] Tracing the historical context of the concept through such notables as Cooley, Mead, Hyman, Merton, Kitt, etc., he proposes re-designating the concept as "the orientational other."

> The orientational other has, in my proposal, four defining attributes: (1) The term refers to the others to whom the individual is most fully, broadly, and basically committed, emotionally and psychologically; (2) it refers to the others who have provided him with his general vocabulary, including his most basic and crucial categories; (3) it refers to the others who have provided and continued to provide him with his categories of self and other and with the meaningful roles to which such assignments refer; (4) it refers to the others in communication with whom his self-concept is basically sustained and/or changed.

As suggested earlier, the incorporation of the reference group concept might provide a qualification to "disengagement," "activity," and "sub-culture" models that have traditionally preoccupied gerontological literature. Again, whatever the label for the concept (reference group, reference relationship, orientational other, etc.), the major intra and inter relational variables (from the individual, the societal, and the cultural perspectives) seem to find a compatible meeting ground in reference group literature. It is here that functional theory, symbolic interaction theory, and personality theory seem to blend via the cognitive, the value-attitudinal, and the normative schema. Perhaps, theorizing in social gerontology should take a new look at an old idea, sophisticatedly operationalize the concept, and empirically test the merits of the reference group model - leaving behind the voluminous polemics of "engagement" versus "disengagement."

FOOTNOTES

1. Marvin R. Koller, Social Gerontology (New York: Random House, 1968) pp. 149 and 158.

2. Elaine Cumming and W. E. Henry, Growing Old (New York: Basic Books, 1961) p. 14.

3. Margret Tallmer and Bernard Knutner, "Disengagement and the Stress of Aging," Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 24, #1 (January 1969) p. 70.

4. Herman J. Loether, Problems of Aging (Belmont, California: Dickenson, 1967) p. 19.

5. Arnold M. Rose and W. A. Peterson, eds., Older People and Their Social World (New York: F. A. Davis, 1965) p. 359.

6. Howard A. Rosencranz, "Role Perceptions of Significant Others By Older Persons," Proceedings, Seventh International Congress of Gerontology, Vienna, Austria, 1966, p. 237.

7. Arnold M. Rose, op. cit., pp. 49-72. Also see Wood, Wylie, and Sheafor, "An Analysis of a Short Self-Report Measure of Life Satisfaction: Correlation with Rater Judgments," Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 24, #4 (October 1969) pp. 465-469. Also, David L. Adamms, "Analysis of a Life Satisfaction Index," Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 24, #4 (October 1969) pp. 470-474.

8. R. J. Havighurst, "Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (1954) p. 310. Also Loether, op. cit., p. 20.

9. Ibid. (Loether) p. 20 and Havighurst, Munnichs, Neugarten, and Thomae, eds., Adjustment to Retirement (Netherlands, Royal VanGorcum Ltd., Assem. 1969) pp. 4-5.

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11. George Maddox and Carl Eisdorfer,"Some Correlates of Activity and Morale Among the Elderly," Social Forces 40 (March 1962) p. 258.

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14. Rose and Peterson, op. cit., p. 3.

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17. Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality (Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1961) p. 279.

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19. Sherif and Sherif, Social Psychology (New York, London, and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1969) p. 298.

20. Hyman and Singer, Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research (New York: Free Press, 1968) p. 80.

21. Ibid., p. 17.

22. David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual in Society (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962) p. 102.

23. Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner and Philip E. Converse, Social Psychology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965) p. 145.

24. Nicholas P. Pollis, "Reference Group Re-examined," British Journal of Sociology (September 1968) pp. 300-307.

25. Arnold M. Rose, Human Behavior and Social Process (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962) p. 11.

26. Manford Kuhn, "The Reference Group Reconsidered," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 5, #1 (Winter 1964) p. 18.

EXPLORING ATTITUDES TOWARD DONATING THE WHOLE BODY

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The study of death behavior and attitudes is proceeding after a somewhat sporadic start.[1] The popular literature had a brief flurry over exposés of funeral practices, and then the mass media revealed the dramatic heart transplant efforts. The American Soldier had no research on death, and other than Faunce and Fulton's article,[2] it is still a relatively neglected aspect of sociological research.

With two technological-medical assumptions we may face a sizeable national public health problem in the next decade. If the "tissue rejection" problem is solved and mechanical organs are not perfected, we face the possibility of extending life by organ transplants provided the logistics of donors and storage is resolved--and of doing so on some large-scale national scope.[3]

How are donors located, what are their personal characteristics and social backgrounds? What are the target populations productive of donees, if an "educational" program were launched?

METHOD

In an effort to explore some of these questions, a captive sample of 169 college students, at two moderate size state-supported four-year colleges were asked, "Would you donate your whole body to a doctor or hospital for medical research purposes?" This was not timed after any recent news concerned with heart transplants. Age, sex, subjective social class position, father's occupation, college classification, marital status, and religious preference were solicited as background information. An abortive question was asked about subjective definition as an athlete. This proved not to be of value in separating donors from non-donors. The rationale was that this carried a functional view toward the body and thus a predisposition to donate it or see utility through it after death. By way of psychological experience the respondent was asked if he had had death or serious illness in his family. Both what is the boundary of the family, and what is considered "serious" illness are subjective factors. The original hypothesis was that prior experience with death or serious illness would yield a predisposition to make an anatomical gift.

The first college's sub-sample contained 106 respondents and 37 (35%) expressed a willingness to make an anatomical gift of the whole body. About half these students were in a social science class of sophomore level, and the other half were junior level business students. The second college sub-sample contained 63 respondents, and 28, or 44% expressed a willingness to make an anatomical gift of the whole body. The second sample consisted entirely of social science students. The second sample, in addition to the factors mentioned earlier, less the athlete category, were also administered three attitude measures, (1) a scale of attitudes toward the body, (2) an attitude measure of who should decide what happens to my body after I'm gone, and (3) modified usage of Morris' value orientation or Ways to Live.[4] Morris' scale was designed for cultural values and to be used in cross cultural analysis and lists 13 Ways to Live. He used only first choices. The students in the second sub-sample were asked to make three (3) choices, the second assuming the first was unavailable and the third assuming the first two were unavailable.

Thus, the total sample consisted of 169 respondents, 65 of who were willing to make an anatomical gift, or a little less than 40%. Over half, 112, had experienced what they subjectively defined as death or serious illness in their family. The facile assumption that death is somehow segregated from common observation and experience may not be empirically grounded.[5]

HYPOTHESIS

Since females have more of an expressive rather than an instrumental role in our society, it was hypothesized that a difference in sex categories would be evident with females more inclined than males to make an anatomical gift. This was not confirmed. Perhaps the social class measures were too clustered in the middle class brackets, but even the white-collar or blue-collar breakdown produced no consistent effects. The hypothesis was that white-collar fathered students would be more receptive to broad scientific purposes and less preoccupied with the sentiment of passing as a ceremony. Age, in terms of which it was predicted the older students would express more willingness to donate the body, likewise failed to differentiate donors from non-donors. The percentage of each college classification's willingness to donate the body followed the over-all sample--40% would donate--except for a one-third result with sophomores.

Of all the background and personal factors examined only religious preference and prior experience or not with death and serious illness in the family had any differentiating power. The religious preference or denomination results are interesting, although the percentages are based on very small numbers and the sample consists of young, college-age students (see Table 1). This seems to follow the liberal-non-liberal contimuum used by Glock and Stark.

The effect of prior experience or not could have been obtained by chance, $P = > .10$ (see Table 2).

Plausible arguments can be made for and against prior experience with death effecting body donation choice and magnitude.

Young people in the sample feel strongly the personal, individually controlled decision on disposition of their body, based on a tenuous population argument, received as much support as the sentiment of family and kin concern. Incidentally, this is compatible with recent provisions in the Model Anatomical Gift Act which places the decision in the individual person.[6] The traditional religious view of the body as the temple of the soul had little appeal. The results are shown in Table 4.

One hypothesis was that those checking "Show sympathy for others" as a way to live, either as first, second, or third choice, would make an anatomical gift of the whole body. This was not confirmed. Another hypothesis was that those checking "Preserve the best man has attained" as a way to live, either as first, second, or third choice, would not make an anatomical gift. There were only 12 cases, and of these, 4 donors; chi-square was precluded due to less than 5 cases.

The rank order of Ways to Live in this sample shows a "shift" from that obtained by Morris. It is only on the third rank order (considering total mentions, 1st, 2nd, or 3rd) that donors are differentiated from non-donors. The donors tend to choose "Live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment," while non-donors tend to choose "Show sympathetic concern for others." I choose to term "Live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment," an indicator of a hedonistic ethic.

The first group, 106 in number, was asked to reply - yes, no, undecided - and make any comment desired. The comments reveal: 1) a different in kind definition of whole body versus a specific organ, 2) the pull of family considerations, and 3) to some a lively, thin-skinned concern for the self after death. The range of reactions is interesting. The donors range from self-only focus to a classic, encompassing humnaitarian concern.

"NO...If transplants are perfected there might be a possibility of giving one organ but not the whole body."

"NO. The thought of someone tinkering with my remains makes my skin crawl; however, I have no qualms over donating blood, whatsoever."

"YES. I won't need it anymore."

"YES. I believe that any contribution to mankind that I can make should be made."

These respondents seem willing to entertain rational approaches to the question and small increments of knowledge could change the proportion of donors significantly.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In summary, less than 40% of 169 college students responded to the question, "Would you donate your whole body to a doctor or hospital for medical research purposes?" in the affirmative. Age, sex, white-collar status, and college classification had no differentiating power between donors and non-donors. Over half had experienced what they subjectively defined as death or serious illness in their family. No clear cut results were obtained on presence or absence of prior death-involved experience as constituting a predisposing factor to body donation.

A liberal type religious membership (Episcopal, Presbyterian) was characteristic of donors; while "conservative" church membership (Baptists, Church of Christ, Sect) was indicative of non-donors. Strong preference was shown for an exclusive individual decision on disposition of the body after death. A slight preference for a hedonistic way to live, "Live with wholesome, carefree enjoyments," tended to characterize donors, while non-donors were inclined to choose a social ethic, "Show sympathetic concern for others."

TABLE 1

WHOLE BODY DONORS AND RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Religious Preference*	% Willing to Donate	Number Willing to Donate	Number in Sample**
Methodist	33	12	36
Episcopal	71	5	7
Christian	75	6	8
Presbyterian	40	4	10
Lutheran	40	4	10
Baptist	43	20	47
Catholic	40	11	27
Church of Christ	17	2	12
Other	17	2	12

*This list in rank order follows Glock & Stark's liberal-non-liberal spread of denominational opinion. Glock, C. Y. & Stark, Rodney, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism, 1966. Harper & Row, New York, p. 9.

**Of each religious group, total sample number was 169.

In view of the hypotheses not confirmed, the indications are that we are dealing with a sentiment, amorphous and strong. At least it does not yield to easy, single dimension analysis. If these results should be replicated in larger populations, then our preliminary analysis would be pessimistic--only 40% of this sample are inclined to donate their body and those so inclined seem to be emancipated from generalized claims of others and kinship desires to achieve a traditional death passage. The motive may be more a care-less of what happens to my remains, so I'll donate them, than a care-for the next generation of persons to lengthen their life span.

TABLE 5

WAYS TO LIVE, RANK ORDER

Way	Morris Rank Order*	Rank Order This Sample**
Preserve the best man has attained	2	
Cultivate independence of persons and things		
Show sympathetic concern for others		3
Experience festivity and solitude in alternation		
Act and enjoy life through group participation		2
Constantly master changing situations		
Integrate action, enjoyment and contemplation	1	1
Live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment	3	
Wait in quiet receptivity		
Control the self stoically		
Meditate on the inner life		
Chance adventuresome deeds		
Obey the cosmic purpose		

*Morris used the mean, the highest mean was ranked 1, etc.
**The largest number of total mentions 1st, 2nd, or 3rd gave the 1st rank, etc.

This research exploration proceeded along the lines of donation of the entire body since in only this way would the requisite number of needed organs be available for immediate needs. It would seem reasonable that the different organ systems have differential values, the poets talk of the heart may have given this a patina of extra concern, while the liver is "just an organ." Healthwise, we can fall into a Balkanization of the body as volunteer health donation campaigns have now experienced.

Small efforts on information prior to attitude measure, various prestiged information persons may dramatically change the extent of body donors. A lurking question is persistent of attitude until effective, namely, until death occurs. Is there a latent fear of an over-eager transplanter rushing in before death occurs?

This area needs exploration, both for its contributions to understanding human behavior, and for its problem-solving potential on health problems. All students seem to agree not to let the question remain in Gladstone's posture - "Show me the manner in which people bury their dead and I shall measure with mathematical exactness the degree of civilization attained by these people."[7]

(All five tables and basic data obtainable from author upon request.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Geoffrey Gorer, "The Pornography of Death," Modern Writing, 1956, pp. 56-62. Now two collections of articles are available in book form; Herman Feifer, Editor, The Meaning of Death (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1959); R. L. Fulton, Editor, Death and Identity (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965). Glenn M. Vernon, "Some Questions about the Inevitable-Death Orientation," Sociological Symposium, No. 1, pp. 74-84. Bowling Green, Kentucky, Western Kentucky University, 1968. Articles like Vernon are rare; he explores the inevitable orientation which draws a cloak over social knowledge and enthrones a vague biological framework.

2. William A. Faunce and Robert Fulton, "The Sociology of Death: A Neglected Area of Research," 36 Social Forces (March), pp. 205-209. They found distinct temporal and spiritual orientation, using a sentence completion techniques. Social class and religious membership was related to these orientations.

3. Edwin Diamond, "Are We Ready to Leave Our Bodies to the Next Generation?" New York Times Magazine (April 21, 1968), p. 28. There are about 1.8 million deaths per year in the United States. Each year there have been about 100,000 kidney disease deaths and a total of 700 kidney transplants to April, 1968. It is estimated that 50,000 heart attack victims per year could benefit from new hearts. The rate of young people (21-45) deaths with non-diseased organs cannot meet these "demands." Diamond mentions proliferation of organ-specific groups and a Boston area uni-body education campaign. At present the time limitation on both heart and kidney transplants is 30 minutes after death.

4. C. Morris, Varieties of Human Value (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) cited at pages 223-229 in Robert M. Marsh, Comparative Sociology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967).

5. Gorer, op. cit. at p. 404 in M. Stein, A. J. Vidich and D. M. White, Editors, Identity and Anxiety (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960).

6. Section 2 (a) Uniform Anatomical Gift Act, approved by the American Bar Association in August, 1968. Drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

7. Al Morgan, "The Bier Barons," in Sociological Symposium (Fall, 1968), p. 28, Bowling Green, Kentucky, Western Kentucky University.

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THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH AS A SCIENCE BUILDING STRATEGY FOR COMPARATIVE COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE STUDIES

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Comparative community power research re-introduces and intensifies the problem of research design and method with which the researcher is confronted in a single case study. It is axiomatic that comparative research invites a greater expenditure of time, money, and manpower. Once undertaken, the central core of the design must be frozen in order to insure comparability. There are no more methodologies or instruments of measurement available to the researcher simply because he has expanded the number of communities in his research universe. And the problem of determining what knowledge is of most worth to a growing scientific base becomes more important. The social scientist is pledged to a search for those aspects of social structure which are relatively stable and exhibit recurring regularities or patterns. In community power phenomena much of the data are ephemeral: the current issues, the political party in power, the current leaders and interpersonal relations between them, and sometimes even the economic and social composition of the community is in rapid flux. Of what value is this transitory data to a scientific commitment which seeks to build a base of knowledge characterized by persistence in time and wide scope in social space? The answer is very little unless the collection of data is guided by concepts, models, patterns, or processes that may be compared and related.

In this paper I will discuss what may be called the institutional approach to comparative community power research. This approach is believed to be capable of comparability and to yield findings that are anchored to institutional foundations which have high persistence and stability. It has been utilized by the writer during the past 15 years in which successive studies have been made of Seattle, Washington, Bristol, England, Cordoba, Argentina, and Lima, Peru. Findings from Lima, Peru will be introduced for illustration of a system model based on institutional analysis. A comparison of the four world cities will indicate the importance of institutional variation in community power analysis.[1]

The essence of the institutional approach is found in the emphasis placed on the national and community institutional power profile as the base from which to view the relationship of other community power phenomena. The determination of the relative distribution of power in the institutional sectors invites careful probing for norms, culture patterns, values, and historic belief systems and ideologies. Subsequent steps include the contemporary social structure with its economic and social base as it related to the identity of influential organizations and leaders. Finally, interpersonal relationships between influential leaders are examined in the light of prevailing institutional and social structure in the community and nation. I will introduce the major concepts proposed in these areas for comparative analysis and will suggest some requirements for future research.

The Community Power System Model

The Community Power Structure is a pattern of five component parts defined as follows:

1. The institutional power structure of the society refers to the relative distribution of power among societal institutions.
2. The institutional power structure of the community refers to the relative distribution of power among local institutions.

3. The community power complex is a power arrangement among temporary or permanent organizations, special-interest associations, and informal groups emerging in specific issues and projects.
4. The top influentials are those persons who are reputed to exert the most influence and power in community decision making.
5. The key influentials are acknowledged leaders among the top influentials.[2]

Each part is believed to be interrelated with and to influence the nature of each successive part. This means that the entire structure is greatly influenced by the nature of the institutional power structure of the society. Institutional dominance may vary among such sectors as business and finance, government, labor, military, religion, society and wealth, independent professions, education, mass communications, recreation, social welfare, and cultural and artistic institutions. In general, the power pattern of the society puts its stamp on the institutional power structure within the community. In turn, organizations and leaders draw their power and influence from the institutional power structure of the community.

The validity of the model rests on the following assumptions:

1. In the institutional power structure of society, influence is derived from dominant values which are exercised by certain social institutions. The power of these institutions is due to their resources, the rate at which they use their resources for political influence, and the efficiency with which they use their resources.

2. The institutional sectors of the local community reflect the institutional power structure of the society (nation) because of high interrelationships of economy, communication, and transportation.

3. Organizations composing the community power complex have identifiable interest groupings anchored in institutional sectors.

4. Top influentials will occur in number and influence proportionate to the power distribution of institutions in the institutionalized power structure of the community.

5. Key influentials reflect top influentials in attitude and behavior but are selected out more rigorously because of their higher power ranking and their leadership abilities.

Partial breakdowns of these assumptions are known to take place. The study of the four cities was designed to test the model and determine the points of divergence.

Applicability of System Model of Community Power Structure

Five Component Parts of the community power structure have been set forth. A summary of relevant data for Lima, Peru is shown in Table 1. The data were gathered in 1965-66 when Peru was a Democratic Republic under the leader ship of Fernando Belaúnde Terry. A three step reputational method was employed, top leaders making the final judgments as shown in Table 1. An interrelationship is clearly indicated between the institutional power structure of society and the institutionalized power structure of the community with a Spearman rank correlation of .93. This almost perfect correspondence probably results from the fact that Lima is the capital city and is thus clearly tied into the national government and economy. Only two minor differences in rank are noted: business and finance rises from forth rank nationally to third rank in Lima while the military drops from third rank nationally to fourth rank in Lima, and religion is given slightly more influence in Lima than nationally, moving from eighth to seventh position. From the institutionalized power structure of the community, the theory of successive influence in the parts would predict that the community power complex and the top and key influentials would be dominated by government, political parties, business and finance, and the military.

TABLE 1. Summary of Data Showing Interrelationships Between Component Parts of the System Model of Community Power Structure for Lima

	Power ranking of institutional sectors	Institutional identity of 14 most influential organizations	Institutional identity of 33 top influentials	Institutiona identity of 14 key influentials
PERU	LIMA			
1. Government	Government	N (%) 1 (7)	N (%) 6 (18)	N (%) 3 (21)
2. Political parties	Political parties	4 (29)	6 (18)	4 (29)
3. Military	Business and finance	4 (29)	10 (30)	1 (7)
4. Business and finance	Military	. .	1 (3)	. .
5. Labor	Labor	1 (7)	1 (3)	. .
6. Mass communication	Mass communication	2 (14)	2 (6)	2 (14)
7. Education	Religion	. .	2 (6)	1 (7)
8. Religion	Education	1 (7)	4 (12)	3 (21)
9. Society and wealth	Society and wealth	. .	. .	. .
10. Independent professions	Independent professions	1 (7)	1 (3)	. .
11. Social welfare	Social welfare	. .	. .	. .
12. Culture and art	Culture and art	. .	. .	. .
13. Recreation	Recreation	. .	. .	. .

A correspondence was noted between the community power complex and the institutionalized power structure of the community. Five of the organizations ranked as most influential in getting things done in community life represent political parties and government, and four represent business and finance. However, an important slippage occurs in religion and military, where no civic organization is ranked as influential. On the other hand, labor (with an organization ranked as most influential), religion, and mass communication show greater strength than predicted.

Top influentials bear out partially the predicted relationship. Business, political, and governmental leaders are numerous. As expected, the military and labor are also represented, but each of these sectors has only a single representative. Key influentials likewise reproduce partially the predicted patterning of the component parts. A high representation (50 percent) of political and government leaders is found. Business and religion are represented, but by only one key influential each. The military and labor have no representation, while education has three and mass communication two.

The hypothesis stating that the power structure will be dominated by business, military, religious, and political leaders is partially validated. It has been clearly shown that political, governmental, and business leaders are ranked as influential forces in the life of the community as predicted by the other parts of the model. Religious leaders are reported weaker than was believed when the operating hypothesis was formulated. Educators and mass communication leaders are more important than indicated by the institutional ranking of their sectors.

The system model has revealed a pattern of interrelationships among the five component parts. It breaks down in the case of the military and labor: both were ranked high in institutional influence but no military or labor leaders were revealed as active influentials in the community. It is now clear that the model can approximate a predictable pattern, but that it will break down when community power is exercised by a collective representation that does not rely on highly personalized leadership.

Labor, the military, and the Catholic Church revere their established institutions and consider the needs of the institution more important than individual leaders. In fact, leaders are often rotated. Labor uses election machinery for this purpose; the military and the Church employ planned policies of rotation. Instead of setting up civic organizations and working upon issues and projects in the community life, they use their own collective power -- labor, the strike, the military, threat or use of coercive force; the Catholic Church, moral persuasion and sanctions -- for their own interests. Or they work through established organizations and institutions -- labor has chosen a political party (APRA) to wield political influence; the military supports and pressures governments to follow its dictates; the Church functions through government, its own schools, and other community agencies to establish its influence. Each of these institutional sectors must be studied carefully to understand how it generates collective influence without highly visible leaders. In Lima, the military is almost a faceless institution. Many top leaders do not know the men who would command a military junta if it should come into power. The military is isolated from community life. This does not mean that the military lacks communication. On the contrary, three high-ranking military officers sit in the President's cabinet, they have close ties with the joint chiefs of staff, and General José Benavides y Benavides, chief of the national intelligence, is attached to the President's personal staff. One expert told me that the military has high concern in three matters: the threat of increased Communist influence and social disorder, the size of the budget for the armed forces, and concern over rapid inflation.[3] Any of these matters can bring military pressure. These are mainly national matters and so the military interest focuses at the national, not the city, level.

FOOTNOTES

1. Delbert C. Miller, International Community Power Structures: Comparative Studies of Four World Cities (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970) pp. 205-208.

2. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

3. For a Peruvian account of militarism see Victor Villanueva, El Militarismo en el Peru (Lima, 1962).

A NEW APPROACH TO INCREASING QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE

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THE PROBLEM

One of the most often used methods of data gathering used in Sociology is the questionnaire. However, one of its major shortcomings is the low response rate which many times accompanies this procedure. The study described here has used a method which appears to be useful in reducing this non-response problem, since a very good response (ninety-three per cent) was achieved in a relatively short period of time (seven days), using 179 subjects. This method also is a means of personalizing the second and third questionnaire requests to possible respondents who have not returned an anonymous questionnaire. Finally, this method has the effect of the person's supervisor asking him to complete the form, rather than the researcher.

METHODOLOGY

This study consisted of a three page anonymous questionnaire given to an entire probation department in California, consisting of 179 probation officers. Prior to sending out the questionnaire, the head of the organization was contacted and the research project explained. He was then requested to develop an inter-office memo to be attached to the questionnaire asking his subordinates to please complete and return the form. A suggested memo was left for his approval. The memo accompanying the first questionnaire wave read as follows: "TO: All Probation Officers, FROM: Bill Johnson, Director, SUBJECT: Attitude Questionnaire. This questionnaire is designed to determine the attitudes of probation officers toward the use of the computer as a judicial decision aid. Your utmost cooperation will be necessary to make this a valid study. Please complete the attached form and return it to Mr. V. Smith by 9 a.m. December 5. Thank you for your compliance with this request." The memo was then signed by Mr. Johnson before printing, constituting a direct request from the director, rather than from an outside researcher, having no authority within the organization.

Along with the memo, a 3X5 card containing only the respondent's name was attached to the questionnaire. The cover sheet of the questionnaire instructed the respondents to return the card seperately to the floor receptionist after completing the returning the questionnaire. The name card enabled the researcher to know who had and had not returned the questionnaires, while still insuring anonymity of the responses.

The first questionnaire wave contained three items: the questionnaire, memo, and name card. These items were then placed in the mail box of each subject; with a deadline of the next day set for returning the forms. Four days after the first deadline, a second memo was developed by the researcher and submitted to the director for his approval and signature, to be sent out from his office. The persons to receive the second questionnaire wave were determined by subtracting the name cards returned during the first wave from the total list of probation officers. The second memo was addressed individually to the remaining respondents and read as follows: "TO: Mr. I. Barns, FROM: Bill Johnson, Director, SUBJECT: Attitude Questionnaire. On December 4, you should have received a questionnaire which was to have been completed and returned by 9 a.m. December 5. At that time, you were requested to complete the form and return it, along with the attached name card to either Mr. V. Smith or the floor receptionist. As of December 9, your card has not been received. If you have already completed and returned a questionnaire, indicate so on the attached name card and return it to Mr. V. Smith by 9 a.m. December 11. If you have not, please complete the attached form and return it, along with the name card, by 9 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you very much." In this particular study, Mr. V. Smith was a member of the organization, not the researcher. However, the forms could also have been easily mailed in if such an intermediary is not available. The second memo, name card, and questionnaire were then placed in the individual's mail box as before.

RESULTS

Using the signed memo method described above, seventy-six per cent of the forms were returned within five days. This first response would perhaps have been even higher if the first memos were also personalized. The second wave of questionnaires and memos brought the response up to ninety-three per cent within a total of seven days from the start of the research. After the first seven days, it taken nine more days for the last six per cent to come in, making a total of ninety-nine per cent returned.

CRITICISMS OF THIS APPROACH

One minor problem is that upon receiving the second memo, some of the probation officers became very concerned, feeling their supervisor knew personally they did not complete the first questionnaire. Another difficulty is that the researcher must have the full acceptence, and at least passive participation of the head of the organization. Also, these results can only be suggestive of the effectiveness of this approach, since no part of the population was set aside as a control group with which to contrast the results. Finally, this approach appears limited to use in large organizations.

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THIS APPROACH

First, it appears to produce a very high response rate to questionnaires. Secondly, a very close deadline may effectively be used, thereby drastically reducing the time required for data collection. Finally, the name card approach enables the researcher to personalize the second questionnaire requests, and also save money by only sending the second wave to persons who did not complete the first anonymous questionnaire.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study appear to indicate that inclosing a memo, signed by the head of the organization, and sent personally to the subjects has a significant effect on increasing the response rate. By attaching name cards to the first questionnaires, to be returned separately, the researcher can insure anonymous questionnaires, while still knowing who has not returned the forms.

ON THE PLACE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN SOCIOLOGY GRADUATE TRAINING: A POSITION PAPER

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Like the proverbial gathering of mathematicians, there may be sociologists who would like to propose a toast, "To pure sociology: may it be useful for nothing." The tendency to shy away from social problems as a commitment to applied sociology is a manifestation of such a view. There is, also, the distinction sometimes found in curricula (or even in the same curriculum) to have courses both on "the Sociology of" particular problem areas and on the study of a social process that could cover several problem areas or (hopefully) be universal. Such approaches are not of necessity mutually exclusive and in the perspective of this paper one need not make a forced choice between them.

Social problems have had an important place in the growth of American sociology. As members of a society which must face the problems of urbanization, industrialization, family change, delinquency, crime, mental illness, and other challenges, sociologists are frequently impelled and as often desire to investigate the major concerns of the society. As citizens of the society, sociologists share with others a concern for the problems of greatest interest. Although Max Weber's insistence on value-free social science methods has wide acceptance in sociology today, no one assumes that values are unrelated to the topics of investigation which challenge researchers. Dramatically, the national commitment on civil rights, then the war on poverty, more recent concern on environment and similar issues all put sociology in the midst of the society's life. Sociologists would be foolish not to realize that this brings students into their classes. The department at Texas Tech would not object if the university administration thought it was the brilliance of their teaching that resulted in a 550 percent increase in majors in sociology since 1962 and a 260 percent increase in staff positions in the same period. Privately, however, it is admitted that these statistics are created by national trends more powerful than our brilliance as teachers. Sociologists would be quite unusual if such powerful concerns of the society did not also influence their choice of research topics. No apology need be made for this. Rather, wisdom is evidenced in doing so, as will be noted below.

These same problems constitute data to scientists by which they will test theories relevant to the nature of society itself. The primary laboratory for sociological research is to be found in the world around us that seldom can be limited to a campus building. In American colleges, it is customary for the second semester's course in sociology to encompass the study of social problems. More advanced courses frequently go into these problems in more detail. At the graduate level, such study may provide the source material (data) upon which a thesis or dissertation may be written. Whether graduate students are preparing for college teaching, for research, or for government service, as sociologists they will encounter social problems. These constitute subject matter and citizenship concern, of course, but if the scientific aspirations of sociology are not an illusion they will be above all else the source of scientific data, essential data by which hypotheses on the nature of social organization may be tested.

From the founding days of the great Chicago school of sociology under Albion Small through the creative period of Robert E. Park and his associates down to the present, this important sociological center and all of American educational centers influenced by it gave special attention to problem studies. The sociologist has looked at his city; his theory building, his methodological techniques, and his personal concerns were focused upon the urgent problems of the city immediately surrounding him. The professorial chair was less of an ivory tower than a vantage point from which to view the teeming life about him. This was especially true in the new and expanding industrial cities which developed in the nineteenth century and continued to grow in the twentieth century. The urban process itself and the accomodation of newly arriving rural populations both from within the country and from abroad provided an exciting context for the examination of social facts. This process of urbanization and industrialization is continuing to spread elsewhere in the world as a dominant fact of the twentieth century.

Sociological investigators in the creative period examined the problems of the city out of great concern for the city. It is a mistake to assume that they were hostile to it or its concerns; certainly they were not indifferent to them. Rather as citizens of their own society they shared the major concerns of that society and brought keen intellectual tools to bear upon them. Modern sociologists who are in strategic locations to observe rapid developments in contemporary society would do well to follow a similar pattern. It is not enough, of course, to cry out with anguish and concern. The sociologist as a scientist must gather his data with care and without bias. He should approximate Max Weber's value-free social scientist in handling his data. He will need, however, to recognize the values important in his society which lead him to deal with particular topics and to test particular hypotheses.

What only recently could have appeared to some as an outmoded approach to sociology through social problems is now very much again in the main stream. On many campuses this winter there has been an inundation of meetings called to further interdisciplinary research on pollution control, on the environment, and on other matters of public concern. In part this was spurred by the December announcement from the National Science Foundation that the agency would give priority to such studies which focused on major social concerns.[1]

There is now widespread agreement that funds for research (and graduate student support) will come primarily for work in applied areas. In short, that science which will be supported must offer some hope of solving important problems of society. Dr. Milton Harris, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Chemical Society, on January 14, 1970, warned the scientists of Texas Tech and Lubbock not to expect the research and development monies that they had come to expect from 1940 to 1965.[2] He added that a slower flow of research funds is in prospect and these only in applied areas of some use to society.

Anticipating this climate of support for the scientific research which is so intimately associated with American graduate education, sociology should make the most of its opportunities to continue in the traditions with which it began. Sociologists, certainly, have even less justification for sentiments of purist snobbery than have people in mathematics and certain other disciplines. The American contribution to sociology grew out of a concern for the social problems that arose in the great urban-industrial centers.

It is against such a background that a doctoral program at Texas Tech is being prepared, one of three new Ph. D. programs in Sociology now before the Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System. (I trust that for this audience it is not necessary to document the need for such additional programs, although documentation is available.[3]). While no one can predict when a final decision on the program will be made, as the possibilities are visualized, social problems must not only be a part of this degree, it must be an important part, perhaps even the most important part. This is not said by way of advertisement to gain students since without announcement the department has more applicants than it can handle.

For information, however, the program as it is conceived at Texas Tech may be noted. It will be divided into six areas of study: (1) Theory, (2) Research Methods, (3) Cultural Anthropology,[4] (4) Society and the Individual, (5) Social Problems, and (6) Comparative Sociology and Social Change. It is not claimed that these cover all that might be included in a degree program but from these a candidate will elect four areas for study (including theory and research methods), presenting a minimum of nine hours of graduate work in three of them and a greater concentration of work in the fourth area. Both master's level and doctoral level seminars will be offered in all areas. Proliferation of courses is avoided in most areas. Within Area 5, however, separate seminars will be offered in "Social Disorganization," "Urban Problems," "Minority Problems," "Criminology," and an Advanced Seminar in Social Problems," most of which can be repeated for credit as the topic varies. While it is possible for candidates to concentrate in other areas, it was anticipated several years ago that most students would take a concentration in Area 5. The events of the last year have only confirmed this expectation by making it clear that these are the sorts of topics for which funds for graduate student support might be available. If one does not make choices within the program on the basis of the nature of the discipline alone, he may make it on the basis of the nature of the support which is available.

Sources of support for the pure sciences are likely to dry up while greater stress is placed on problems of major social concern. Given this trend, sociology may do well to turn back to its origins not out of any worship of the past but because this is the most relevant orientation it may make in the present day. One of the Graduate School officials at Texas Tech commented about the topic of this paper that when it comes to problems of society everyone else is jumping on the band wagon. Sociologists need to remember that the discipline's forerunners were there first and current sociologists of all people should bring skills, theory, and research sophistication to problems only now being discovered by others. The prevalence of social problem emphases in sociology is seen not as a situation to be lamented but as an opportunity to be developed.

FOOTNOTES

1. N.S.F. Notice No. 24, December 11, 1969, on "Interdisciplinary Research Relevant to Problems of Our Society," issued by the National Science Foundation Office on Interdisciplinary Research, Washington, D.C. 20550.

2. Milton Harris, "The Science Revolution, Phase III," the Robert A. Welch Foundation Lecture on Chemistry. Chemistry Auditorium, Texas Tech University, January 14, 1970.

3. See the report of the Sociology Panel, The Behavioral and Social Science Survey, especially "The Impending Manpower Shortage in Sociology," in Neil J. Smelzer and James A. Davis (Eds.), Sociology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969) p. 142ff.

4. The department at Texas Tech University is a Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Supporting work from cultural anthropology is included as an option in the degree plan both because of its relevance and its availability.

Other requirements for the degree will include work in a minor field and conventional proficiency in foreign languages and in statistics.

IMPROVING INSTRUCTION THROUGH COMMUNITY SERVICE RESEARCH PROJECTS

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Two words seem to provide fairly comprehensive problem categories into which may be placed most of the recent social disruptions on American campuses: (1) governance, and (2) relevance. Relevance is the unique domain of individual faculty members who all too often, are equipped only with their own experience as students. They react to the present in a manner determined by their past which for better or worse they sort of automatically conserve. Action or laboratory methods of instruction have been slow to catch on in social science instruction but promise greater effectiveness than physical science laboratories which tend to be highly structured and unspontaneous or "canned"--you simply open up your can and there is your laboratory experience which can even be served without heating it up.

This is a report of a laboratory experience involving two research projects and two classes. The classes involved were a rather large introductory class (135 people) who collected and tabulated the data and a research methods class who helped design and supervise the projects. The research projects involved: (1) an attitude survey of Austin College Students and (2) a community survey which collected 4,000 responses to the question "would you please name the two or three people that you think might have the best ideas on how to make Sherman a better place to live and work." One critical ingredient was that the taking of this data was not merely an exercise but would produce information which would be used. The second project was especially relevant to the activities of a community action organization--Goals for Sherman.

The methods class divided into three committees: (1) experimental design,(2)methods, and (3) write-up. The design committee constructed tested instruments and determined sampling techniques; the methods committee saw that data takers were trained by roleplaying techniques and saw that programs were written and the write-up committee supervised the coding of the data and the final report. The use of teams rather than the usual competitive individual performance oriented approach was well liked by the methods class, but most of these students had already experienced action methods and an unstructured approach in other sociology courses.

Introductory students voiced strong reactions to their experiences--both repulsions and attractions. New and different experiences were mentioned favorably most often and not making results available to those who collected the data was most mentioned as an unfavorable response. Some of their comments are recounted below: "The research projects were probably the most valuable things in the course. We were told some of the results in our discussion groups, but I think the data should be published. It seems rather futile to collect information and not hear the results." "The survey projects were good in that they gave the intro student a chance to be a part of the department and really do something rather than merely taking lecture notes." "On the Austin College project, I filled in numbers for two afternoons and came to realize that the final results are several complicated steps removed from the raw material." "Had the research projects been more organized, they might have been worthwhile. As they were carried out, they were just time consuming. I understand the importance of such projects to a functioning sociology department--but not the department here at Austin College." "The most interesting aspect of the project was meeting some of the sociology students." "One thing which astounded me was not so much the unwillingness to participate but also unwillingness to think or not knowing what you think.

Is the average person so complacent?" "Well, the first project was not too exciting. The number transferring was kind of fun, especially when we told jokes. Anyway I met someone that I started dating, so I'd recommend it to other people. The second project was really beautiful. I met old ladies and little kids and flowers and filth. There were so many old people and I could never tell which ones would be senile and which ones would be sharp or bitter or passive. I went into my first barbershop. There was an interesting calendar on the wall. I learned how to talk to strangers. One guy said, 'I couldn't care less about things like that,' and one old lady said 'thank you so much for asking me.' One man rolled up his sleeves, clinched his fists, and scowled at me, but then he started laughing and said he was only kidding. A little girl attached herself and her wagon to me. All she could say was 'beep-beep, beep-beep.' Strange. Then I went to a symphony that night, but I knew that it had really begun that morning." "Over one half refused to answer saying 'no son, I won't.' Is this the southern paranoid feeling I've heard of." "Participating in the campus project was more or less a waste of time. Very little about the true nature of sociological research is gained from simply handing out questionnaires and picking them up again." "Although this is supposed to be anonymous, I would like to say that some of the reactions to my appearance were strongly negative but many were very interesting and amusing. Many old people in the area must have been living quietly isolated lives for years. Some wanted it that way and others couldn't let the chance to talk go by, especially to what they thought was one of them hippies. You couldn't help but find out some things about their attitudes toward Sherman. I also couldn't resist putting up a small argument to a businessman's tale about how he thought the hippies had something in their brotherly love until he saw a girl holding hands with a colored boy in San Francisco 'big as day.'" "They were a new experience for me--I wish the results could have been published." "In the Sherman project, I was left out. I signed up but was absent the day assignments were given. I really did want to do that project and I was disappointed and more than a little angry that I was not contacted."

Of course no studied conclusions may be reached from this single case, but perhaps it could be safely said that action methods have considerable potential for rendering the social sciences more relevant to today's college student. However, a comment from Carl Rogers after hearing of this approach, seems appropriate--"You know your ruining those kids for graduate school." No meaningful response was made to that comment.

SOCIOLOGY DISSERTATIONS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES 1893-1966

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A complete compilation of dissertations in the field of Sociology within one volume is long overdue. Such a volume can shorten considerably the work of the research and the graduate student. The present volume contains all Sociology dissertations accepted by American Universities between the years 1893 and 1966.

This volume does not claim to possess quick pain relieving properties which rival those of asprin. At the same time, however, it offers both tangible and substantial assistance to those who seek the coveted Ph.D. and to those charged with aiding in the quest. In turning to a computer designed approach for collating all the doctoral dissertations accepted by departments of Sociology in American Universities from 1893 (when the first dissertation was accepted at New York University) to 1966. The data for dialogue has been submitted.

A research of literature was made and the dissertations that have been listed were compiled by years for each University. This print-out list was made and completed and sent to the head of each Sociology department at the Universities for which dissertations have been shown. The head of each Sociology department was so kind as to give many hours of work in checking the print-out list with his records and made corrections, deletions, and additions whenever necessary. It is believed this gave us an accurate compilation of dissertations for each University.

The dissertations have been listed under twenty-six different topics each of which makes up a chapter in the book. Under each chapter heading is listed alphabetically the authors, their dissertation title, the year published, and the university code. The university code is placed to the right and one space below the date of publication. The key for the University codes is listed on pages Vii and Viii. For example, chapter one is entitled Alcohol, Drugs, and Gambling. The first author is Bales, Robert Freed and his dissertation title immediately follows his name. To the right is listed the year 1945 when the degree was granted by Harvard University which is code 058.

As stated, in 1893, New York University granted the first Ph.D. in Sociology in the United States. They did not grant another Ph.D. in Sociology until 1911. In 1897, the University of Chicago granted its first Ph.D. in Sociology, the next in the United States. This University was to grant the only two Ph.D.'s in Sociology in the United States in 1898 and the only two in 1899. They granted two in 1900 and were joined by the University of Pennsylvania to grant one in 1900.

Sociology Dissertations in American Universities 1893-1966 is a large canvas that grows larger as examination grows more detailed. For example, more than 30 years are to pass before the annual doctoral production reaches two figures when 12 dissertations were accepted in 1924. And it is not to be until 1950 that the national output, with a total of 125 dissertations, exceeds the century mark. Quickly reaching a high of 213, four years later, the production rate thereafter takes on an appearance suggestive of a Dow-Jones averages chart reporting an unsettled market condition. In 1966, there were 231 such degrees granted.

The Universities and years to grant the first Ph.D. in Sociology other than those mentioned were: University of Wisconsin 1907; Columbia 1912; Yale University 1914; University of Kansas 1916; and University of Missouri 1919.

Of the 3,993 such degrees offered the leading fifteen Universities were: University of Chicago-428; Columbia-304; Cornell University-199; University of Wisconsin-196; University of North Carolina-159; Ohio State-143; Yale University-139; University of Pennsylvania-133; Catholic University of America-125; University of Michigan-125; University of South Carolina-116; Michigan State-115; Harvard-105; University of Minnesota-101; University of Washington-93. Of the other seventy-six universities the range was from one to eighty-seven.

There are twenty-six subject areas shown in the Table of Contents. They are: Alcohol, Drugs, and Gambling; Communication; Community, Regional and City Planning; Church and Religion; Criminology; Demography; Ecology; Education; Family; General; Gernotology; Hospitals, Medical and Mental Health; Juvenile Delinquency; Labor, Occupations, and Unions; Migration; Mobility and Social Stratification; Prisons; Probation and Parole; Public Welfare; Race; Recreation and Leisure; Rural; Socialism and Communism; Social Change; Social Psychology; and Theory. There is no surprise in the discovery that the dissertations are evenly distributed among the twenty-six subject areas. Neither is there novelty in the fact that--excluding the expected large number of dissertations (1804) classified as "General",--the "Family" areas with a total of 383 dissertations is the most studied. Or that "Church and Religion" ranks second in popularity with a production total of 275 when one condisers the recency of the rise of state supported graduate schools. The two subject areas, "Race" and Labor, Occupations and Unions"--ties for third position, each with a total of 239--may reveal a durability of interest not wholly expected.

Of the twenty-six areas, "Recreation and Leisure" shows the smallest production total--fourteen. While admittedly a relative newcomer to the American scene, there are those who see in this limited appeal the possibility that proper imagery for this area is sorely needed. Perhaps even more surprising to some may be the area "Socialisms and Communism" which, with a total of fifteen dissertations, is almost equal in lack of appeal. Verbal interest in the brank of ideology does not seem to equate with formal investigative efforts of doctoral students within the discipline of Sociology.

It is believed this volume will be valuable to any student who aspires a Ph.D. in Sociology. He can ascertain what subjects have been researched at each University. Each college library will want to display this piece of research to aid the students. This volume of seventy-six universities and the 3,993 dissertations granted over a period of 1893 to 1966 can be purchased from the Book Store of East Texas State University at Commerce, Texas for $4.95.

HIGH SCHOOL AND JUNIOR COLLEGE INSTRUCTORS OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE SOUTH

M. B. Wade and Adele M. Davenport
Stephen F. Austin State University

INTRODUCTION

Sociology is as old as mankind itself, yet as an academic discipline it is the youngest sibling in the social science field, the first college course in the United States having been offered in 1876 at Yale University. For thousands of years men have been interested in many of the problems being investigated by sociologists today. Broad and popular interest in these diverse problems is evidenced by the widespread attention given them today by the mass media.

Because of its breadth and youth, sociology is not yet a well defined discipline. For these reasons, many people agree that sociology is one of the most difficult subjects to teach well. Surely everyone will agree that sociology deals with more subjective matters than other disciplines, and that subjective matters are more difficult to deal with than easily quantified information. Herein lies one of the difficulties in teaching sociology and one of the reasons for concern about the qualifications of the instructor of sociology. It is axiomatic to say that the key factor in the teaching of any subject is the instructor.

PURPOSE

Although various authors have indicated that many secondary and junior college instructors of sociology are inadequately trained, a review of the literature revealed little information on the personal and professional qualifications of those persons now teaching sociology and the need for such information.[1] Therefore, this study was undertaken to examine more closely and in much more detail the qualifications of those persons now teaching sociology on both the high school and junior college levels in the sixteen states defined by the U. S. Bureau of the Census as the South: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

PROCEDURE

A 50% sample was drawn from the 752 schools and junior colleges identified as likely to offer sociology.[2] Of the 376 questionnaires mailed this winter (1969-70), a response of 49.9% (177 replies) was received, of which 147 were sufficiently complete for use in this survey. Thus, this study is based on the questionnaires returned by 80 high school and 67 junior college instructors.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

Personal Information

High school and junior college instructors in the South are predominantly young (66.4% are under 40), married (52.2%), white (85.1%), and Protestant (79.4%). Although secondary teachers are almost equally divided between the two sexes, more than twice as many men as women teach sociology at the junior college level, indicating a universality that as the academic scale is ascended the sex ratio of the instructors also goes up.

College Background

Although the undergraduate degrees held by these instructors were received at various times during the last 50 years, over half of both the secondary and junior college instructors have been in college during the last five years. In the majority of these cases (74.5%), all of the colleges and universities attended by these respondents are located in the South. While 19.5% of the junior college instructors have attended a junior college, only 11.4% of the high school teachers had attended such an institution; thus, although junior college instructors are more likely than high school teachers to have attended a junior college, it is still true that "most junior college teachers have never attended a junior college,"[3] and,therefore, may not understand their educational objectives.

In regard to the frequent accusation that many sociologists are "frustrated preachers," it was found that approximately 10% of the instructors held a B. D., Th. M., or similar degree. This may give substance to the charge that many sociologists are "reformers" or "activists" and not true scientists.

College Degrees Obtained

Nearly all junior college instructors (89.5%) hold a master's degree, but fewer than one-third of the high school teachers have earned such a graduate degree. Only 13% of all of the majors and minors earned by high school teachers were in sociology; but, over 30% of the majors and minors earned by junior college instructors were in this field. Thus, it appears that instructors on both levels have a rather weak background in the discipline, but that junior college instructors are more likely than high school teachers to hold a graduate degree and to have a major or minor in sociology, as might be expected.

Educational and Professional Background in Sociology

Upon comparing the educational and professional background of high school and junior college instructors of sociology, it appears that high school teachers themselves are more likely to have had sociology in high school than junior college instructors. However, junior college instructors generally have had more college courses in sociology, are more likely to belong to professional sociological organizations, more inclined to read related journals, and, thus, present a more impressive professional image.

Teaching Experience

Indications are that the total experience of those currently in sociology is quite varied, most of these instructors having had little teaching experience (less than 5 years) in sociology. In fact, about two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they had begun teaching sociology only after several years of teaching in other subject areas. Furthermore, 79.4% of the junior college instructors indicated previous elementary or secondary teaching experience, but 92.2% of the high school teachers have done all of their teaching at this level.

Type of School and Sociology Enrollment

Most of the schools offering sociology are public schools (82.2%), neither very small (under 100) nor very large (over 2,500). Generally, only a small percentage of the student body (under 10%) is enrolled in sociology. Most of the sociology classes on both levels are quite average in size, between 25 and 36 students.

Current Teaching Position

Junior college instructors tend to make slightly higher salaries but teach fewer classes and have fewer students than high school teachers. Also, secondary teachers are more likely to sponsor extra-curricular activities than junior college instructors; to be more specific, 71% of the high school teachers but only 42% of the junior college instructors sponsor such activities. Relatively few instructors on either level (17.4%) are engaged in sociological research. Although junior college instructors are more likely to be encouraged to do further work in college, less than one-third of the respondents feel any encouragement from the administration to further their education.

Attitudes Toward Current Teaching Position

It appears that at least half of the instructors are satisfied with their current teaching and/or work load, but that many teachers feel over-worked. While most of the instructors are teaching sociology out of personal desire, nearly one-third are teaching simply because they were "drafted." Nevertheless, only three people admitted that they were doing a "poor" teaching job.

General Reaction to Sociology Offerings

The reaction by the administration, faculty, and students to the sociology courses offered is generally felt to be favorable, although a relatively large number of "neutral" and "unknown" reactions were reported in regard to the community. This feeling may indicate a lack of communication between the school and the community; such reactions are difficult to ascertain.

Special Problems in Teaching Sociology

Textbooks and teaching materials. Of the special problems reported in teaching sociology, nearly one-third concerned textbooks and/or teaching materials, making it the most frequently mentioned problem in the entire survey. These problems primarily concerned availability, recency, relevancy, and readability.

Student attitudes, maturity, or background. Nearly one-fourth of the respondents mentioned a problem concerning the attitudes, maturity, or background of their students. Teachers have to take students where they are, not where they would like for them to be. There is the perennial temptation to blame the students for their inadequate preparation or their unsuitability for the course.

Lack of student interest in sociology was frequently mentioned by the respondents as a special problem. However, sociology is life itself; therefore, it is more interesting than some of the older and more stereotyped subjects. In fact, the vast majority of society's major problems, as pointed out by the mass media, are basically sociological in nature. Sociology, to a great extent, motivates itself, not necessitating some "far-out" approach by the instructor or his "doing cartwheels" in order to hold the interest of his students.

Inadequate background of the teacher. This problem is naturally related to problems concerning the use of teaching materials and student attitudes and interests. A qualified teacher is more likely to be familiar with the content and materials of the discipline and thereby can make the subject more interesting and meaningful to the student. With 13.5% of the respondents admitting that they lacked the background to be teaching sociology, it underscores the dire need for summer institutes or other types of in-service training.

Scheduling. Slightly over 10% of the special problems reported concern scheduling. All too often sociology is a "catch-all" elective course for both students and teachers. Too, many high school respondents felt that the numerous other required courses limit the number of students free to schedule sociology and also prevent the best individuals from scheduling it, thereby giving the subject a "bad" image.

Conflict with administration or faculty. Only 8.1% of the respondents indicated a problem involving conflict with the administration or faculty. Some respondents implied that the key to good morale is good communication and participation -- involving all concerned -- to the end that they will feel that they are not only part of the problem but also part of the answer!

Testing and/or grading. Although nearly everyone would agree that testing and grading often involve difficult decisions, only 5.4% of the respondents directly mentioned this problem. There is considerable agreement that the examination should represent the course and not be an appendage to it. In most courses in sociology this is an ideal difficult to attain, since sociology often deals with intangible, subjective matters. Perhaps a variety of approaches to this problem could best meet the heterogeneous needs and abilities of the students and **demands** of the courses.

Conflict with community. Four per cent of the reported problems concern conflict with the community. Every teacher, regardless of the subject taught, but especially in sociology must heed community folkways, traditions, mores, and values, thus keeping his fingers on the pulse of the community.

Opinions Concerning the Role of the Sociology Instructor

Special qualifications. Most of the respondents in this survey (86.1%) agree that the sociology instructor should possess special qualifications (of an academic and/or personal nature) not usually looked for in the more traditional and objective courses, such as mathematics and the physical sciences. In commenting on these special qualifications, the respondents made remarks such as the following: "The sociology teacher must be more objective, tolerant, compassionate, progressive, and willing to listen than other teachers" and "He should have a good educational background in as many fields as possible, since sociology uses information from many fields." Such comments become especially significant when we realize that "we teach what we know whether we are aware of it or not!" Also, we teach what we are, try as we may to do otherwise.

Community participation. A majority of the respondents (83.5%) feel that the sociology teacher should participate actively in community affairs, such as church and politics. The most frequent comment concerning this question included the following idea: "He should be a citizen as well as a teacher." Other comments included the following remarks: "I feel no responsibility to 'guide' the community because I am a sociologist. Because I have personal interests, I am involved in the community" and "Sociology teachers should concern themselves with affairs other than classroom activity. 'Pure' knowledge is sterile without application."

Roles. Of the respondents' answers, 31% indicate the sociology teacher should be an "analyst," 27.8% indicate he should be objective, 16.1% feel he should be scientific, 14.8% feel he should be an "activist," and 10.3% indicate he should be a "reformer." Obviously, there is little consensus relative to the role of the sociologist in this **regard**, a polarity of responses being reported. However, comments given indicate that first and foremost the sociologist's role is basically that of a diagnostician.

IMPLICATIONS

1. The key factor in the teaching of any subject is the instructor; in no field does this statement have more validity than that of sociology, due to the subjective element involved.

2. Apparently, quite a few of the respondents are doing a superior job, while it is equally clear that many others are unsure of themselves and would appreciate assistance in some aspect of their work.

3. If we assume that twenty-four semester hours should be the minimum for any instructor in a given field, then three-fourths and two-fifths of the high school and junior college instructors, respectively, are ill prepared to teach sociology.

4. Some instructors have been in attendance at summer institutes; however, for most of these instructors the training was in some area other than sociology.

5. Professionalism, as evidenced by membership in professional sociological organizations and the reading of professional journals related to the field indicates a rather poor picture.

6. The special problems surrounding the teaching of sociology can be many and varied, many of which are inherent in the nature of the field itself.

7. The subjective-objective dichotomy role in which the sociologist often finds himself is a difficult one.

8. This research, like all such studies, has uncovered more questions than it has answered, some by implication. Only a few hints have been given as to some of the possible areas for further investigation, some of which are suggested in both the findings and the questionnaire itself.

FOOTNOTES

1. John W. Dykstra, "The High School Sociology Course," Social Education, 31 (October 1967) pp. 224-232.

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., "Preparation of Junior College Teachers," Educational Record, 48 (Spring 1967) pp. 147-152.

William M. Hering, Jr., "Sociology and the High School: What and Why?" The Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, 20 (Winter 1967-68) pp. 4-12.

Paul E. Kelly, "Sociology in the Secondary-School Curriculum: Problems and Prospects," The High School Journal, 53 (March 1969) pp. 281-289.

Ellwyn R. Stoddard, "A 'Loophole' in the Sociologist's Claim to Professionalism: The Junior College Instructor," The American Sociologist, 3(May 1968) pp. 132-135.

Thomas J. Switzer and Everett K. Wilson, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen: Launching a High School Sociology Course," Phi Delta Kappan, 50 (February 1969) pp. 346-350.

M. B. Wade, W. L. York, and W. J. Reynolds, "The Status of Sociology in the High Schools of Texas," Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, 19 (1969) pp. 22-26.

2. These addresses were secured by writing the state department of education in each state in the South and from a booklet entitled "Report of Credit Given by Educational Institutions" by the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (1968).

3. Gleazer, op. cit., p. 149.

A much expanded and documented version of this brief paper is available from the authors upon request.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY CRUSADES IN TWO CITIES*

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Two social movements, one in a southwestern U.S. community of 250,000 (Southtown) and one in a north-midwestern community of 100,000 (Midville) emerged in response to the issue of obscenity and pornography. Both movements developed around ad hoc issue-oriented organizations which varied according to the degree that they could be described as ephemeral. Because the issue of pornography was defined as a social problem, attempts were made by both groups to effect social change--to eliminate pornography from their communities. We shall examine these movements in terms of Neil J. Smelser's theory of collective behavior[1] and Joseph Gusfield's analysis of status politics[2] to see if Smelser's and Gusfield's models are useful in helping us understand ad hoc anti-pornography organizations and to see how well our data fit their categories. Sources of data include newspaper articles, non-participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews with leaders and participants of the ad hoc anti-pornography organizations.

Smelser's Value Added Process

According to Smelser's model, various types of collective behavior are determined by the type of generalized belief involved and six elements in a "value-added process." The six elements in the value-added process include structural conduciveness, structural strain, growth and spread of a generalized belief, mobilization of participants for action and operation of social control. Smelser suggests that these six determinants lie in a value-added relationship to collective outbursts in the same way that Paul Samuelson assesses the economic value of an automobile through its production from iron ore, with each successive stage adding value to the finished product. Each determinant will be discussed as it relates to the two social movements. Since its publication in 1962, there have been several applications of the Smelserian value-added theory. Brown, in 1965, applied the model to the Detroit race riot of 1943.[3] Milgram and Toch, in 1965, studied the Berkeley student riots using the value-added model.[4] Fendrich and Pearson, in 1969, used the stages as categories within which to conceptualize the impact of alienation among black veterans.[5] Quarantelli and Huntley, in 1969, tested the applicability of the model to campus demonstrations.[6]

Structural Conduciveness. According to Smelser, certain structural variables set limits within which strain, mobilization and action may operate. We shall argue (1) that the populations composing the two cities were conducive to a norm-oriented movement concerning any moral issues and (2) that in both cities there was an organizational base on which a movement could build (in Southtown there was an ephemeral coalition of voluntary associations; in Midville, there was a formally incorporated decency organization).

Midville, a community with a "small town atmosphere," has a low degree of urban anonymity and is still in the process of becoming urban in its life style. It is dominated by traditional, although somewhat progressive, Republicanism. Community religious orientation is strong--145 churches from 36 denominations. Forty percent of the labor force are industrial workers and 41% are white collar workers. Less than 6% of the residents possess college degrees, yet the annual average family income is considerably higher than the national average. This structural discrepancy between income and education, along with a high percentage of residents in relatively low prestige jobs could be structural antecedents of the tension which developed surrounding sexually oriented material.[7]

We suggest that members of the formally incorporated decency organization are similar, with regard to certain demographic and attitude scale characteristics, to residents of Midville itself.[8] For example, among the 36 central members of the ad hoc organization, 91% were over the age of thirty. With the exception of ministers, only 6% of the respondents were college graduates and 39% earned over $1,200 per month. Sixty-four percent of the respondents reported having three or more children. Sixty percent of the respondents were Protestant, 26% Catholic. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents reported political conservatism. Eighty-three percent reported church attendance of one or more times a week. Ninety-four percent of the respondents were born in cities with populations less than 500,000--61% from a population with less than 100,000. The religiosity, political conservativeness, lack of college education, relatively high industrial dependence for income and rural origin of respondents suggest the kind of individual Gusfield describes as being prone to participate in moral crusades.[9]

Like Midville, Southtown continues to manifest a tendency toward local rather than cosmopolitan and rural rather than urban values and life styles. Southtown is the capital city of the state, and thus, is the seat of an overtly politically conservative state legislature. However, southtown citizens are not noticeably politically active--only 20% of eligible voters cast ballots in the last Presidential election. Fifty-four percent of the employed population are white collar workers--31% of whom work in government service.

Whereas the structural status inconsistency in Midville was seen to exist as lower education with higher income than the national average, in Southtown the reverse is seen. Southtown citizens average a higher level of education but a lower index of annual family income than the national average. Southtown, like Midville, appears to be a religiously oriented community, with 275 churches for 32 denominations.

The characteristics of active participants of the ad hoc anti-pornography organization in Southtown suggest that potential moral crusaders are available in the city. Sixty-three percent of the decency campaign participants were Protestants, most of them of the fundamentalist sort, and 37% were Catholic. Fifty-eight percent reported political conservatism. Fifty-five percent had three or more children. Thirty-four percent were college graduates and 60% earned less than $1,200 per month--indicating that the structural status inconsistency argument applies to the participants in both Midville and Southtown. Ninety-one percent were born in cities with populations of 100,000 or less. In summary, the participants in Southtown's ad hoc anti-pornography organization are highly religious, fundamentalist (though not penecostal), conservative politically, relatively rural in origin, socioeconomically middle-class--with status inconsistency, and closely fit the description that Gusfield gives us of participants in the temperence movement.

Both Midville and Southtown seem to manifest evidence of the kind of structural conduciveness which could be a necessary but not sufficient condition for the emergence of a moral crusade. Both cities have reasonably small, non-cosmopolitan populations that are experiencing an urbanizing of life style and to manifest structural status inconsistency. Furthermore, both cities, either at a formal community or voluntary association level, had histories of prior anti-pornography activities. Both cities had either an adult bookstore or an adult theatre to serve as targets of moral indignation for a hostile outburst or social movement to focus on.

Structural Strain. In informal interviews, respondents frequently mentioned their anxiety about the possibility of an economic recession which would have a drastic impact on the economic health of Midville because of its dependence upon consumer oriented heavy industry. There seemed to be community concern over the possibility of racial trouble. (Some of the larger cities in the state had experienced severe riots.) Respondents expressed concern that the 17% non-white population in Midville was becoming more "militant." That Midville had been named an "All America city"[10] was in itself a source of structural strain. It was, as one respondent put it, "a hard image to live up to." The respondent's orientations were local rather than cosmopolitan, rural rather than urban, traditional rather than modern, religious rather than secular, "pragmatic" rather than "intellectual," and they felt challenges with regard to this "style of life," which introduced structural strain. The Supreme Court, the most revered guardian of American values, legislated against aspects of the respondents' life style. The "no prayer in public schools," legislation, the civil rights acts and the "right of arrest" decisions were perceived as grevious errors. Feelings of tension resulted from perceived inability of respondents to control unsolicited "smut mail" and from their inability to control "unsavory" programs from the mass media. The target of hostility, the Adult bookstore, was located in the center of a "respectable" part of the downtown area. Respondents labeled the bookstore operators as "audacious smut peddlers" while the latter's self-concept was that of "free enterprise capitalists." Respondents were upset because students from a local college who were temporarily being housed across the street from the bookstore were being exposed to smut. "Informal" arrangements between local police and community businesses that sold books and magazines did not function with the adult bookstore. Furthermore, legal sanctions had been rendered ineffective by the fact that the Supreme Court had ruled the state anti-pornography statute, after which Midville's anti-pornography statute was modeled, to be unconstitutional. The effective powerless state of the community and the decency participants when faced with these problems was analagous,as mentioned by Gusfield,[11] to the position of the "status discontent," who attempted to affirm his way of life in the moral sphere, rather than in the political or economic, by publicly degrading a life style different from his own. The issue of pornography can easily be made a focal point for differences in styles of life, and we can argue that the people in Midville, as status discontents, presented with other obscenity related events, used the issue to fight a far larger battle, a battle to maintain the integrity of their accustomed style of life against the challenges of social change. This interpretation is rather dramatically supported by the fact that 64% of the participants in the anti-pornography organization reported their opposition to be "ultra liberals" and "young people." Only 27% of the participants saw "smut peddlers" as their opposition.

Because a large percentage of the residents of Southtown held government or service related jobs, fewer respondents in Southtown expressed feelings of economic insecurity. The fact that Southtown had the lowest cost of living index of any SMSA in the U.S. may also be relevant. Although the Black and Mexican-American populations in Southtown were 25% of the total, little overt ethnic strife had been encountered, and Southtowners generally felt that ethnic minority groups were "well controlled" by formal and informal aspects of the social structure.

As a state capitol, Southtown had much of the same All Americanism of Midville, and the majority of the citizens espouse a life style that is local rather than cosmopolitan, rural rather than urban, "pragmatic" rather than "intellectual," and traditional rather than modern. They also express concern, in almost every case, with the "breakdown of basic values" reported in and reflected by the mass media, the actions of young people, and the decision of the Supreme Court concerning prayer in school, pornography, and civil rights and arrest procedures. They were also concerned about unsolicited smut coming through the mails. Southtowners were extremely family oriented (Midvillers were more community oriented) and one of the major sources of strain was the embarrassment felt by the respondents because they could not sit through a movie with their children present.

Growth and Spread of a Generalized Belief. Smelser indicates that the origin of a generalized belief is strain on the facilities component in the action system. These sources of strain lead to ambiguity about what could be done to eliminate "smut" which in turn lead to anxiety and frustration. This anxiety and frustration lead to hysterical beliefs, about the future of the country because of the "onslaught" of pornography, which lead participants to define all possible outcomes as negative. Generalized hysteria is illustrated by the following quotes from respondents. With regard to, "What are the effects of pornography?" "Pornography is so potent it can get control of you and you can succumb to it. You have to get away from it, like quicksand." In answer to the question, "Is pornography a social problem?" "I think pornography is a worse problem than war. It is much better to die and be decent than to live in moral filth." "We can survive air polution and poverty and nobody is really starving to death, and survive war, but no civilization has ever survived a moral breakdown." "I consider pornography more important than say race riots. Riots are localized, pornography is not."[12]

Precipitating Factors. According to Smelser's scheme, some specific event must occur, or must be remembered and redefined, to precipitate action on the basis of the generalized belief. In Southtown, a student play at the University which contained nudity was closed by the vice-squad, and two movies were confiscated from two adult theaters and viewed by the local grand jury. These events stimulated public interest and a certain Mr. King,[13] set it upon himself to organize a decency campaign through his chapter of the Knights of Columbus organization. In Midville, two women, one of whom had been trying to start a decency crusade for several years asked Raymond P. Gauer, the national secretary of the Citizens for Decent Literature to speak at one of the rallies of the organization. He gave an inflamitory speech in which he described the adult bookstore as, "The worst display of obscene materials I have seen in some 70 cities. The owner should be arrested; he has no legitimate leg to stand on." Gauer then suggested that the women take "citizens action," which is described below.

Mobilization for Action. In Southtown, the organizer of the crusade, Mr. King, proceeded to contact congressmen, find out that names on petitions were needed to pass anti-pornography legislation, and organize the membership of some 24 voluntary associations into an ad hoc organization which was then able to mobilize 2,500 people at a rally and to solicit 2,231 names on a petition which was presented to the state legislature and which ultimately resulted in the passage of two state "smut control" laws. In Midville, the two women referred to above, following the instructions of Gauer and aided by a newly elected district attorney, purchased copies of a book and a magazine from the bookstore and passed it out to an excellent sample of community leaders biased toward the conservative or establishment liberal. The newspaper editor, a progressive crusader type and a Catholic, was one of the community leaders selected, and he was so appalled that he ran a smut expose in his paper that so inflamed the community, that 32 persons cancelled their subscriptions to the newspaper and accused the anti-smut crusading newspaper itself of printing pornography. After the expose, emotional contagion is the only way to descirbe the hysteria and band-wagon effects which lead some 36 voluntary associations with a membership of 16,000 to "demand that the bookstore be closed down," and one woman to collect 8,000 signatures on a petition to the city council. The movement culminated with an unsuccessful bid for a state law, which was stopped by downstate liberals and which both the decency group and the liberal opposition claimed to be happy about. The liberals for obvious reasons, and the decency group because they claimed that the proposed law as amended, was too weak.

Social Control. Smelser describes social control as the determinant which spans all of the others and sets the limits within which they may operate. In Southtown the original police action against the theaters was not only an aspect of formal social control, but it was also one of the precipitating factors. Further, the grand jury action and the informal atmosphere of the University and the State capitol may have had the effect of informally keeping the movement from developing into a hostile outburst. In general, it was the perceived ineffectiveness of the social control by the participants which lead to the outbursts, i.e., were sources of structural strain. In Midville, the police had made numerous raids on the bookstore, prior to citizens mobilization. These cases were thrown out of court. After the Gauer speech, citizens initiated direct action on the bookstore by going into the bookstore, purchasing some material and then taking the material to the police and making a "citizens' complaint" against the bookstore. Citizens' complaints were an attempt to harrass the bookstore out of business. Finally, the bookstore owner, after being arrested on violation of city tax charges (amounting to a total of $15 city tax) sued the decency participants for $1,000,000 for conspiracy to violate his civil rights for the lawful operation of his business under color of the law. In general, the informal social controls in Midville can either be described as weak, or supportive of direct citizens' action--as long as it be taken by "true" Americans.

Summary

From our preliminary analysis of the data, we suggest the following conclusions. First, both crusades can be usefully described as collective behavior, in that they followed the value added stages, and they contained irrational elements or, in Smelser's terms, short-circuited beliefs. Second, the data seem to fit the designation "symbolic crusade" as employed by Gusfield in that the social origins of the participants were that of the frontier, old middle class, relatively uneducated, status inconsistent, rural, and that the goals pursued were symbolic rather than instrumental, suggesting that their motivation may well have been to enhance their life style at the expense of that of the liberal, modern, permissive members of the community. The fact that sex is one of the few topics left where moral conflict may take place may explain why pornography is attacked today, as alcohol was attacked in the '20's and communists in the '50's. We should expect that these same types of people in similar types of communities will oppose pornography, sex education, drugs, and "freaks" or deviant life styles in general. The investigators saw the decency participants as self-alienated, although their social alienation, which we may conjecture as having been great, has been reduced by joining, participating in, believing in and proselytizing for the decency organization. This is borne out by both alienation scale scores and open end responses on the structured interviews.

All of the ideas presented in this paper, along with the preliminary report of the data, will be discussed in detail in our forthcoming monograph. In conclusion we would like to point out that since these decency campaigners are part of a larger process of social change, that any attempt to restrict such movements, even though they violate persons civil rights, should not proceed unaware of the larger issues of life style, conflict and inauthenticity involved .

FOOTNOTES

1. Neil J. Smelser, A Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1962, Ch. I-V, and IX.

2. Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1963.

3. Roger Brown, "Collective Behavior and the Psychology of the Crowd." In Roger Brown, Social Psychology. (New York: The Free Press, 1967, Ch. 14.

4. Stanley Milgram and Hans Toch, "Collective Behavior: Crowds and Social Movements." In gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Eds.), Handbook of Social Psychology (2nd ed.), Vol. 3. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, pp. 555-562.

5. James M. Fendrich and Michael A. Pearson, "Alienation and Its Correlates Among Black Veterans." Paper presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, August, 1969.

6. E. L. Quarantelli and James R. Huntley, Jr., "A Test of Some Propositions About Crowd Behavior." In Robert R. Evans (Ed.), Readings in Collective Behavior. Chicago: Rand-McNally, pp. 538-544.

7. Demographic data for the cities of Midville and Southtown are taken from the City County Data Book, 1964, and the reports for census tracts of the U.S. Census of Population, 1960.

8. These data are taken from the structured interviews with 36 leaders in Midville and 49 leaders in Southtown.

9. Gusfield, op. cit., Ch. 1.

10. This award is given by Look Magazine.

11. Gusfield, op. cit., Ch. 1.

12. These data are taken from open ended interviews with decency organization leaders, and letters to the editor of the Midville newspaper.

13. King is a pseudonym.

14. For a critical analysis of the distinction between self and social alienation, see Irene Taviss, "Changes in the Form of Alienation: A Longitudinal Analysis," American Sociological Review, (February, 1969), pp. 46-58.

*Data drawn from a research project funded by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, Washington, D. C., 1969-1970. Special regards go to Adreain Kirkpatrick, who read, re-read, edited and typed both early and later versions of this paper, and to Ronald D. Birkelbach, Chad Bowman and Susan Lee Zurcher, who were, jointly with the authors, responsible for research design and data gathering.

A SOCIO-POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY CAMPAIGNERS*

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Along with other disturbances, the last decade saw American society experience considerable "moral revolution." Reacting to this area of change primarily, but also in a general sense to modernity as a whole, some citizens came together to do something about what they felt was a blatant example of the deterioration of the national moral character: pornography.

Utilizing data from a study of anti-pornography campaigns in two cities, this brief paper focuses on two questions: (1) what are some of the socio-political characteristics of anti-pornography organization members--characteristics which initially at least can be considered a contemporary manifestation of an amorphous radical right mood,[1] and (2) to what extent can we speak of the decency campaigners as exhibiting what Richard Hofstadter has termed the "paranoid style in American politics."[2]

Structured interviews were conducted with 49 members of an anti-pornography organization in a southwestern city (Southtown) and 36 members of an anti-pornography organization in a smaller midwestern city (Midville). Similarly, interviews were conducted with 26 active members of a loosely formed anti-censorship group in Southtown, and 25 active members of a corresponding group in Midville. Thirty-eight area random control interviews were conducted in Southtown, but due to limited research time and respondent availability only 12 were completed in Midville. The latter will not be considered here.

Cons and Pros[3]: Southtown

An initial distinction between the anti-pornography (Cons) and anti-censorship (Pros) respondents in Southtown is that over half (53%) of the decency campaigners grew up in towns of 50,000 or less. Fifty percent of the Pros, on the other hand, grew up in cities of 100,000 or over. In fact, 30% of the members of this group were raised in cities of 500,000 or more. The control group had an even slightly larger percentage (62%) of individuals growing up in towns of less than 50,000.

The Cons were older than the Pros, with a median age of 41.0 years as compared with 35.7 years. Seventy-three percent of the Pros were 39 years or younger; 47% of the anti-pornography people fell into this category. The control group's median age of 40.9 matched the Cons almost precisely. With a median income of $1247/month, the Pros earned more than the Cons with $1125/month and the controls with $1210/month. Among the decency campaigners, 16% earned $800-999/month; 24%, 1000-1199/month; and 40%, 1200 or more. Among the anti-censorship respondents, 8% earned $800-999/month; 19%, 1000-1199/month; and 65%, 1200 or more. Relative to the general population, the members of the anti-pornography campaign were fairly well-educated. Forty-one percent had some college, 14% had completed college, 6% had performed some graduate work, and 14% had at least one graduate degree. The Pros were very well-educated. Seventy-three percent of them had at least one graduate degree, 19% had done graduate work, and 8% had at least some college. Of the controls, 29% had some college, 21% completed college, 5% had done graduate work and 21% had at least one graduate degree. The decency campaigners were occupationally dominated by two groups: professionals (35%) and managers and officials (33%). Craftsmen (8%), housewives (14%), and sales people (6%) describe the remaining groups of any significance. The Pros were almost exclusively defined within the professional category (70%). The control group closely resembled the Cons with 42% professional, 24% managers, 13% craftsmen, and 5% both clerical and operatives.

Differences between Southtown Pros and Cons in religious affiliation are quite distinct. Among the Cons, 31% were Catholic, 18% Baptist, 10% Methodist, and 31% made up a composite group of other Protestants with individual percentages less than 10. All had some religious preference. In contrast, 38% of the Pros professed no religion whatever. Fifteen percent were Jewish, and the remainder were scattered through the other religions with no individual percentages higher than 8. The control group was dominated by 29% Baptist, 21% Methodist, 11% Catholic, and a composite group of 39% other Protestants. The distinctions between the Cons and Pros are accentuated even more regarding church attendance. Eighty-one percent of the anti-pornography campaigners attended church at least once a week, and 47% of this group went two or more times a week. Only 15% of the Pros attended church at least once a week, while 19% attended two to ten times a year and 42% rarely or never went. Matching the Cons on a reduced scale, 58% of the Controls attended church at least once a week, 11% attended two to three times a month and 16% went from once a month to two to ten times a year.

A somewhat different perspective is gained from one of the question items that asked the respondents to rank the activities that give them the most satisfaction. Forty-one percent of the decency campaigners listed "Family" first, 24% gave the first priority to "Career," and 10% chose "Religion" as their most satisfying activity. Of the Pros, only 23% ranked "Family" first, while 42% chose "Career" and only one individual indicated "Religion" was his most satisfying activity. Again, the Control group nearly matched the Cons; 50% indicating "Family" and 28% "Career. However, like the Pros, only one person chose "Religion" first. The majority of the Southtown anti-pornography campaigners were Democrats (61%), 27% were Republicans, and 10% proclaimed themselves Independent. The Pros were also dominantly Democratic (76%), but there were no Republicans, and 23% Independents. Most of the Controls were Democrats (63%), 16% were Republicans, and 18% were Independent. What is more significant in the political area, however, is that 69% of the decency campaigners designated themselves as "conservative" while in contrast, 88% of the Pros called themselves "liberal." A smaller percentage of both groups refused to accept either label.

Cons and Pros: Midville

Overall, Midville tends to present a less clear socio-political picture than Southtown. On some characteristics there are only slight differences between the two groups in Midville, and on others the distinction is even sharper than in Southtown. To begin, there is no apparent contrast between the Cons and Pros regarding the rural-urban background distinction. The median interval for both groups is 50,000 to 100,000. A median age of 48.3 makes the decency campaigners of Midville older than any group of either city. In fact, 22% of the Midville Cons were over the age of 60. The Pros in that city were quite a bit younger with a median age of 35.0. Members of the anti-pornography organization earn more ($1050/month) than the Pros ($942/month). For Midville, the income intervals were expanded further than the intervals in Southtown, and this showed that a sizeable number (22%) of the decency campaigners were making over $1600/month. Diversity characterized the educational background of the Cons in Midville with 19% completing high school only, 14% having gone to business or trade school, 22% having some college, and 19% earning at least one graduate degree. Forty-four percent of the Pros had at least one graduate degree, 28% performed some graduate work and 16% had had some college. As in Southtown, professionals (42%) and managers and officials (31%) comprised two major occupational categories of the Midville anti-pornography members. Seventy-two percent of the Pros were classified as professional, 12% were managers, and 12% were craftsmen.

The religious affiliation of the Midville Cons was diverse: Catholics (25%), Baptists (11%), Lutherans (8%), Methodists (11%), Presbyterians (14%), Jewish (6%), and 14%, other Protestant faiths. In contrast, 36% of the Pros indicated no religious preference, 20% were Episcopalian, 20% were Catholic, and 12% were Unitarian. Repeating a previous pattern, 58% of the Cons in Midville attended church at least once a week, while 44% of the Pros rarely or never attended. "Family" was the first choice of 47% of the decency campaigners regarding the activity giving them the most satisfaction. "Career" was designated by 17%, "Religion" and "Community" each 11%. "Family" was the choice of 44% of the Pros, 32% chose "Career", but no one indicated "Religion."

Politically the Midville anti-pornography members were mostly Republican (56%), some were Independent (31%), and only a few were Democrat (11%). Democrats, however, made up the majority (60%) of the Pros, another 32% called themselves Independent, and two individuals were Republican. Fifty-six percent of the decency members considered themselves to be "conservative," while 36% accepted the term "liberal." Ninety-two percent of the Pros considered themselves "liberal" and, again, a small percentage refused to accept either label.

Hofstadter sees the contemporary grass roots extreme right as drawing its support from two basic, sometimes overlapping types: "first, the affluent (perhaps newly affluent) suburban-educated middle class, largely outside the Northeast, which responds to ultra-conservative economic issues as well as to militant nationalism and anti-communism....and second, a large lower middle class, somewhat less educated and less charmed than the first group by old-fashioned economic liberalism but even more fearful of communism, which it perceives rather abstractly in the light of a strong evangelical-fundamentalist cast of thought."[4] With the exception that economic issues is not the primary subject here, the data presented above explicitly supports at least the first part of Hofstadter's gross dichotomy. The religiosity and the family orientation of the anti-pornography members are two other aspects that should be reiterated. The question of communism and the type of thought that characterizes these people is the focus of the next section.

The Paranoid Style

Relative to the anti-pornography campaigners, there is no attempt in this short space to detail each criteria Hofstadter considers pertinent to the paranoid fundamentalist style that is believed to be characteristic of rightist groups in America. What seems to be basically implied by his characterization is that such people have underlying psychological dimensions of dogmatism, authoritarianism, and an intolerance of differing belief systems.[5] Hofstadter, of course, has not been the only writer to make allusions to or point out the connections between these personality variables and the radical right.[6] It is in his work, however, that we find the most emphasis on the mode of expression as opposed to the structural sources or the substantive content of a particular rightist movement.

On a scale range of 0-6, the Southtown campaigners had a mean dogmatism scale score of 2.93 and the Pros, 1.74 ($p > .001$). In Midville, the mean scale score for the Cons was 2.22 and for the Pros, 1.78 ($p > .05$).[7]

The Southtown Cons had a mean F-scale score of 2.62 on a 0-6 range, while the Pros contrasted sharply with a mean scale score of 0.80 ($p > .001$). The Cons in Midville had an average F-scale score of 2.06 while the Pros averaged 1.32 ($p > .01$).

The mean score for political tolerance on the 0-6 range for the Southtown Cons was 3.41.[8] The Southtown Pros scored sharply lower with 0.38. The Midville decency campaigners had a mean of 2.47 and the Pros scored distinctly lower at 0.34. Both of these differences were statistically significant ($p > .001$).[9]

While it might be noted that the group means for the decency campaigns in both cities for all three variables are not extremely high, the level of education for the two groups should be kept in mind. And as Lipset has pointed out, "if someone is well-educated and still gives authoritarian responses, then the chances are that he really has a basic tendency to react in an authoritarian fashion."[10] As has been well researched, this point of view should apply also to dogmatism and political tolerance as well.

A possibly more interesting perspective is opened up by the fact that in Midville exactly 50% of the decency campaigners believed that communists are connected with the production and distribution of pornography.[11] With the exception of three individuals, this 50% is made up of the highest scorers on either the dogmatism or F-scale for this group. In this respect, relative to the stereotyped radical rightist who is inflamed about communists and the liberal elements in society, Hofstadter's conception of style would certainly appear to be accurate. While all of the decency campaigners do not fit this sterotype, if these three psychological variables are valid indicators, the fundamentalist paranoid style can be viewed as operating in both anti-pornography campaigns.

FOOTNOTES

*Data used here is from a larger study funded by the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, Washington, D. C., 1969-70.

1. For the most complete review of this political area see Daniel Bell (ed.), The Radical Right (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963), a revised and updated version of The New American Right (Criterion Books, 1955).

2. Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

3. "Pro" is not exactly the appropriate word to describe the groups opposing the decency campaigners. These people are not necessarily pro-pornography, they are more correctly anti-censorship. Pro is used for the sake of clarity and expediency.

4. Hofstadter, op. cit., p. 72.

5. This has been noted by John P. Kirscht and Ronald C. Dillehay, Dimensions of Authoritarianism: A Review of Research and Theory (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967) pp. 62-64.

6. See, for example, S. M. Lipset, "The Sources of the Radical Right-1955," p. 290 and "Three Decades of the Radical Right-1962." pp. 341-342 and p. 376, footnote 54, in Bell, The Radical Right.

7. Dogmatism was measured by a 10-item short-form taken from Verling C. Troldahl and Fredric A. Powell, "A Short-Form Dogmatism Scale for Use in Field Studies." Social Forces 44 (December 1965) pp. 211-214.

8. Questions for political tolerance were taken from Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1955) pp. 39-46.

9. All difference tests were one-tailed t-tests.

10. Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right-1962," p. 343.

11. This question was not asked in the same form in Southtown, therefore, comparable information is not available.

DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY AND RESPONSIVENESS TO URBAN PROBLEMS

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Religious organizations, like other "ideological" organizations, often attempt to influence behavior in at least three ways: 1) dissemination of abstract, *generalized values* (e.g., "all men are created equal"); 2) translation of the abstract generalized values into more *specific attitudes* ("all men are created equal, *therefore*, I think it is a good idea that my children go to integrated schools."); 3) encouragement of *overt behavior* consistent with the generalized values and the specific attitudes ("all men are created equal, I think it is a good idea for my children to go to integrated schools, *and* I will join a committee which is working for an integrated school in my neighborhood"). The dynamics of and the inter-relationships among these three levels of behavior are quite complex and efforts aimed at clarifying these complexities have resulted in a substantial body of literature.[1]

These three levels of behavior were incorporated into the design of the research reported here, which consisted of the following steps: 1) ascertaining the most pressing urban problems confronting a rapidly growing metropolitan area; 2) developing an instrument designed to measure degree of interest in solving urban problems; 3) administering the instrument to a population of residents in the urban area; 4) assessing the relative potency of several religious variables and as determinants of interest in solving urban problems. The most pressing urban problems in the Phoenix (Arizona) area, as identified by a panel of "experts" -- city planners, social welfare administrators, etc. -- were: 1) inadequate wages of certain occupational groups; 2) too little money spent on schools in low-income districts; 3) substandard housing in some neighborhoods; 4) inefficient system of public transportation; 5) inadequate public mental health facilities.

Taking the above five urban problems as a point of departure, an instrument was developed to measure "consistency in response to urban problems," hereafter known as the CRUP instrument.[2] For each of the five urban problem areas, three corresponding items were devised aimed at measuring the three levels of response to urban problems: 1) abstract values; 2) specific application of the abstract value; and 3) willingness to take overt action. For example, with respect to the problem of low incomes, the respondent was asked to express agreement or disagreement with the following statement: "Everyone in our community is entitled to earn a decent living," (abstract value). Later in the questionnaire, he was asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "All people who work should be paid at least $1.40 an hour," (specific application of the abstract value). The "abstract value" and "specific application" items were interspersed among a number of similarly constructed items pertaining to religious beliefs in such a way that the respondent was not aware of the relationship between "abstract values" and "specific applications." At the conclusion of the administration of the questionnaire, the respondent was told by the interviewer that one of the purposes of this study was to determine extent of interest on the part of members of the community in participating in a series of five brief, informal discussion groups dealing with urban problems. Should there be sufficient interest, the groups would bring together citizens, community leaders, and academicians on five evenings during the next few months in order to discuss solutions to these problems. The respondent then was handed a checklist of the five problem areas, allowed to indicate in which, if any, of the five discussion groups he might be willing to participate, and requested to sign his name, address and telephone number in order that he could receive more specific information regarding the discussion groups. Thus, an indication of his "willingness to take overt action" was obtained. A respondent who received a high CRUP score, then, was not only consistent in his responses toward urban problems (that is, moved consistently from the abstract value to the specific application and then to willingness to take overt action), but also looked favorably upon attempts to solve urban problems. The questionnaire was administered to the residents of eight single-dwelling, residential areas in Tempe, Arizona.

Findings

Table I presents CRUP scores as related to several dimensions of religiosity. Inspection of the scores in Table I-A suggests that Catholics, generally, of the three traditions, are relatively most likely and Latter Day Saints least likely to be concerned about urban problems, with Protestants falling somewhere between these two groups. This finding is consistent with and may be at least partly explained by the fact that Catholics in the United States traditionally have been urbanites, Protestants historically have been dominant in small towns, and Latter Day Saints probably have had stronger agrarian roots than either of the other two groups.

When CRUP scores are examined, relative to actual affiliation with a specific religious denomination (Table I-B), it becomes apparent that there are differences among the various Protestant groups. Upper status and/or intellectual-humanistic denominations (Episcopal, Unitarian, Universalist, etc.) appear to be most successful in fostering responsiveness to urban problems. Interestingly enough, there do not seem to be marked differences in responsiveness to urban problems between fundamentalist traditionally rural groups such as Southern Baptists and other Protestant groups such as Presbyterian, Methodist or Lutheran.

With respect to religious involvement, as measured by church attendance, time spent in religious activities and in reading religious literature, there does seem to be a positive relationship between religious involvement and responsiveness to urban problems. (Table I-C). The differences here are not striking, however.

Data summarized in Table I-D suggest that perhaps even more important than affiliation or involvement with a particular denomination (with the exception of the Latter Day Saints) is the ideological commitment within the denomination. Thus, liberal Methodists resemble liberal Presbyterians in responsiveness to urban problems more than they resemble conservatives in their own denomination.

Table II presents CRUP scores as related to six "subdimensions of religiosity" which were judged as relevant for this research problem. These orientations were measured with sub-scales using Likert-type items developed in previous research.[3] Social action (Table II-A) is taken to mean an orientation which holds that the proper function of religion is to achieve social justice as over against the belief that religion ought not be involved in social issues. As might be expected, respondents endorsing a social actionist position were most likely to be responsive to urban problems. Liberal personal morality refers to a relativistic position with respect to personal morality -- a willingness, for example, to allow individuals to make their own decisions about such matters as pre-marital sex or use of alcoholic beverages -- in contrast with an absolutistic position which holds that certain acts are bad or good. Inspection of Table II-B suggests a relationship between interest in urban problems and a liberal personal morality. Ecumenicity refers to an orientation which holds that no one religious group has the final "truth" and therefore different religious groups ought to cooperate with each other. Such an ecumenical outlook appears from a glance at Table II-C to be rather markedly related to interest in urban problems. Internalization refers to the idea that one's religious beliefs ought to be thought out independently rather than dogmatically accepted. This orientation appears to be related to high scores on the CRUP instrument. (Table II-D). A Liberal Theological Orientation indicates a non-literal, critical interpretation of religious literature, especially the Bible, rather than a traditional, fundamentalist position. Such an orientation appears to be correlated with responsiveness to urban problems (Table II-E). The last subdimension, Evangelistic Laissez-faireism, measured willingness to "let people be" rather than attempting to convert them to one's own religious point of view. Again, this outlook seems to be related, though not strikingly, with high CRUP scores (Table II-F).

FOOTNOTES

1. See for example: Douglas W. Bray, "The Prediction of Behavior from Two Attitude Scales," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45 (1950), pp. 64-84; Bernard Kutner, Carol Wilkins and Penny Yarrow, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior Involving Racial Prejudice." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 47 (1952), pp. 649-652; Herbert H. Hyman, "Inconsistencies as a Problem of Attitude Measurement," Journal of Social Issues, 5 (1959), pp. 38-42; Melvin L. DeFleur and Frank R. Westie, "Attitude as a Scientific Concept," Social Forces, 42 (October, 1963) pp. 17-31; Lawrence S. Linn, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior: A Study of Racial Discrimination," Social Forces, 45, (1965), pp. 353-364; Frank R. Westie, "The American Dilemma: An Empirical Test," American Sociological Review, 30 (August, 1965), pp. 527-538; James M. Fendrich, "A Study of the Association Among Verbal Attitudes, Commitment and Overt Behavior in Different Experimental Situations," Social Forces, 3 (March, 1967), pp. 347-355.

2. This instrument is an adaptation and combination of instruments described in Westie's "The American Dilemma: An Empirical Test," already cited, and in Melvin L. DeFleur and Frank R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Salience of Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 23 (December, 1958).

3. For a more complete discussion of the rationale and development of scales measuring these subdimensions of religiosity, see Frederick L. Whitam, "Subdimensions of Religiosity and Race Prejudice," Review of Religious Research, 3 (Spring, 1962) pp. 166-174.

TABLE 1

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND VARIABLES AS RELATED TO CONSISTENCY IN RESPONSE TO URBAN PROBLEMS (CRUP)

A
IDENTIFICATION WITH MAJOR RELIGIOUS FAITH

	Protestant	Catholic	LDS	Other & None
High CRUP score	35.8%	35.0%	16.7%	25.0%
Med. CRUP score	33.5%	47.4%	37.5%	37.5%
Low CRUP score	30.7%	17.5%	45.8%	37.5%
	=100% N=212	-- N=57	=100% N=24	=100% N=24

B
AFFILIATION WITH SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS

	Catholic	Episcopal etc.	Methodist etc.	Presbyterian etc.	So.Baptist etc.	LDS etc.	No Affiliation
High CRUP	30.0%	48.1%	35.4%	30.2%	32.1%	16.7%	27.0%
Med. CRUP	44.4%	22.2%	40.0%	39.5%	32.1%	37.5%	35.1%
Low CRUP	18.5%	29.6%	24.0%	30.2%	35.8%	45.8%	37.8%
	=100% N=54	=100% N=27	=100% N=79	=100% N=43	=100% N=53	=100% N=24	=100% N=37

C
INDEX OF RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT

	High Involvement	Moderate Involvement	Little or no Involvement
High CRUP score	37.8%	32.0%	31.0%
Med. CRUP score	32.9%	38.1%	37.9%
Low CRUP score	29.3%	29.9%	31.0%
	=100% N=82	=100% N=147	=100% N=87

D
RELIGIOUSLY CONSERVATIVE - LIBERAL

	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	No affiliation
High CRUP score	23.1%	33.6%	44.2%	31.8%
Med. CRUP score	33.3%	44.0%	30.2%	40.9%
Low CRUP score	43.6%	22.4%	25.6%	27.3%
	=100% N=78	=100% N=116	=100% N=86	=100% N=22

TABLE II

SOCIAL BACKGROUND VARIABLES AS RELATED TO CONSISTENCY IN RESPONSE TO URBAN PROBLEMS (CRUP)

A
SOCIAL CLASS POSITION

	Working Class	Lower-Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
High CRUP Score	24.5%	35.5%	35.5%
Med. CRUP Score	35.0%	36.0%	38.7%
Low CRUP Score	40.3%	28.5%	25.8%
	=100% N=57	=100% N=186	=100% N=62

B
RURAL-URBAN BACKGROUND

	Farm or Town under 5000	Small & Med Cities and Suburbs	Large Metropolitan area
High CRUP Score	34.9%	30.4%	38.0%
Med. CRUP Score	32.6%	37.4%	37.2%
Low CRUP Score	32.6%	32.2%	24.8%
	=100% N=86	=100% N=115	=100% N=121

C
LENGTH OF TIME OF RESIDENCE IN PHOENIX AREA

	Less than 3 years	14-17 years	More than 17
High CRUP Score	36.0%	32.2%	33.9%
Med. CRUP Score	36.0%	39.9%	27.1%
Low CRUP Score	28.0%	27.9%	39.0%
	=100% N=75	=100% N=183	=100% N=59

D
POLITICAL ORIENTATION

	Conservative		Liberal		
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Hign CRUP Score	24.4%	32.0%	42.6%	55.8%	26.2%
Med. CRUP Score	38.4%	34.0%	31.5%	25.6%	45.2%
Low CRUP Score	37.2%	34.0%	25.9%	18.6%	28.6%
	=100% N=86	=100% N=50	=100% N=54	=100% N=43	=100% N=84

TABLE II

SUBDIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

A. SOCIAL ACTION ORIENTATION

	High Socia Action	Moderate Social Action	Low Socia Action
High CRUP	39.0%	31.2%	24.4%
Med. CRUP	36.5%	33.8%	39.7%
Low CRUP	24.5%	35.0%	35.9%
	=100% N=159	=100% N=80	=100% N=78

B. LIBERAL PERSONAL MORALITY

	High Liberal Morality	Moderate Liberal Morality	Low Liberal Morality
High CRUP	37.2%	28.8%	31.7%
Med. CRUP	35.3%	38.5%	36.7%
Low CRUP	27.4%	32.7%	31.7%
	=100% N=153	=100% N=104	=100% N=60

C. ECUMENICITY

	High Ecumenicity	Moderate Ecumenicity	Low Ecumenicity
High CRUP	37.3%	25.5%	18.2%
Med. CRUP	36.5%	39.2%	33.3%
Low CRUP	26.2%	35.3%	48.5%
	=100% N=233	=100% N=51	=100% N=33

D. INTERNALIZATION

	High Internalization	Moderate Internalization	Low Internalization
High CRUP	36.9%	33.5%	23.7%
Med. CRUP	34.0%	38.6%	34.2%
Low CRUP	29.1%	27.8%	42.1%
	=100% N=103	=100% N=176	=100% N=38

E. LIBERAL THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

	High Liberal Theology	Moderate Liberal Theology	Low Libera Theology
High CRUP	40.9%	32.5%	27.6%
Med. CRUP	31.8%	38.8%	33.4%
Low CRUP	27.3%	28.8%	33.1%
	=100% N=110	=100% N=80	=100% N=127

F. EVANGELISTIC LAISSEZ-FAIREISM

	High Laissez-faire	Moderate Laissez-faire	Low Laissez-faire
High CRUP	34.7%	33.6%	27.9%
Med. CRUP	35.3%	33.6%	48.8%
Low CRUP	29.9%	32.7%	23.2%
	=100% N=167	=100% N=107	=100% N=43

ELITE AUTONOMY AND INTEGRATION IN NORWAY*

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Seen in global perspective, a striking characteristic of the politics of societies in Northern Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand is their stable, representative nature. Few informed persons in these societies perceive any significant probability that their political regimes will experience forceful take-overs by hostile factions or sudden power deflations leading to revolutionary chaos. In each society political actors appear to abide by a live-and-let-live philosophy that collectively makes possible the taking of divergent positions on issues without raising the spectre of mortal conflict. Numerous historical, institutional, cultural, and economic explanations for the uniqueness of these several societies' politics have been advanced. In recent years an explanation stressing the crucial role of elite structure and attitudes has gained currency and it is this which provides the backdrop for the present paper.

One formulation of this explanation views the mass behavior and attitudes associated with stable, representative ("democratic") politics as derived from modes of behavior and sets of attitudes first manifested among elites--groups of major decision-makers possessing significant coherence, cohesion, and self-consciousness. Where elites voluntarily limit their individual group interests to permit a collective, regular effort to placate the discontented and to suppress and distort issues in such a way that silent factions are not made hostile participants and those who participate are not pushed into open enmity, the necessary and sufficient conditions for political stability and representative politics are present (Field, 1967; 1968). Put somewhat differently, if elites manage to institutionalize autonomy and integration in some mutually satisfactory combination the vital requirement for political stability and representative politics is met.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of how elites initiate and maintain this combination of autonomy and integration is quite limited. Numerous studies of the social structure of particular elites (e.g., businessmen, union leaders, civil servants) and a body of theoretical writing in the functionalist school have made us aware of considerable elite autonomy in modern societies. But a detailed understanding of how and to what degree autonomy is balanced by, or possibly subordinated to, elite integration remains beyond our grasp, although a voluminous, rather speculative literature voicing the "pluralist" and "power-elitist" interpretations is in existence. In this paper we present materials which describe in admittedly incomplete fashion structural aspects of elite autonomy and integration in Norway. Our focus is on the intensity of inter-elite interaction as a basic indicator of substantial elite integration, even though Norwegian elites in many other respects manifest formidable autonomy. Although our data do not describe actual power exchanges occuring between them, we assume it self-evident that Norwegian elites operate a highly stable political system in which representative politics are unchallenged. Here we explore facets of the elite social structure implied by the theoretical explanation for this state of affairs outlined above.

Elite Interchange: Rulership by a single class whose members are linked by property, kinship, and inheritance, and who engage in a fluid interchange of disparate power positions is believed by many scholars not to survive the transition to fully modern social conditions. Rather, functional differences and specialization of knowledge are thought to be factors limiting the interchange of elite positions (Keller, 1963: 70; Porter, 1965: 209). believed that elite persons cannot readily move from sector to sector or easily combine positions in two or more sectors. This is the basic rationale for picturing the macro organization of power in modern societies as consisting of the relationships between specialized, distinct, and autonomous elites.

But the question of actual rates of positional interchange is still an empirical one. To measure the frequency of interchange between Norwegian elites we studied the careers of the 649 members of the business, labor, political, and administrative elites for whom uniform data were available, and we singled out individuals who held an elite position in one of the three other elites prior to entering the elite in which they were located in 1967 (1960's for politicians). Our tabulation revealed that 27 persons (4%) changed elite sectors prior to or during 1967. All elites experienced some loss of members to other elites, and all but the labor union elite received members from other elites. In Norway the administrative elite is the most frequent supplier of recruits to other elites (10), with the political elite ranking second (7). Conversely, the political elite far out-distances the three others in absorbing half of all the persons who changed elites. Again the administrative elite stands out, having taken 8 persons from other elites into its ranks. In fact, the path between the two "state elites" accounts for just about half of all the elite interchanges identified. This constitutes some exception to the conclusion that interchange among the four key elites is so infrequent as probably to be of limited significance in reducing elite autonomy in Norway. A second look at these interchanges between the two state elites, however, removes even this exception. Close to half the interchanges between administration and politics involved short-term occupancies by professional civil servants of Secretaryships in the governmental ministries. Although officially defined as appointive political positions, at least some Secretaryships have tended in practice to be more technical-administrative than political posts. When this is taken into consideration the importance of the administrative-political elite interchanges is reduced.

The data are thus reasonably persuasive on the point that formal autonomy is a prime characteristic of the elite groups controlling the four key sectors of Norwegian society. This conclusion is further supported by detailed biographical analysis of the business, labor, and political elites showing that top positions are normally obtained only after many years of apprenticeship and "professionalization" at sub-elite levels in each sector (Higley, 1968; Fivelsdal & Higley, 1970). If, then, Norwegian elites approximate closed corporate structures as these data suggest, how does elite integration sufficient to support Norway's eminently stable and representative politics occur? We speculate that a part of the answer is to be found in an analysis of inter-elite interaction which may be sufficiently intense to insure strong integration without the interchange of elite positions.

Elite Interaction: Interaction between members of different elite groups occurs in a web of official, semi-official, and private channels in modern societies. Government-sponsored committees, official and private conferences, negotiations between interest groups, delegations to international bodies, numerous public service associations, and simply, social gatherings are primary interaction channels in Norway. Excepting purely social gatherings, all channels can be analyzed for the extent to which members of different elites overlap in these diverse collegial contexts. However, such sociometric analysis suffers the limitation of not being able to measure with any accuracy the intensity of the interactions which take place. It can show how often a labor leader meets with a business leader, for instance, but it cannot assess the depth of the acquaintanceship developed thereby. In the following we attempt to bypass this limitation by presenting data measuring the intensity of relationships between a cross-section of Norwegian elites and certain key elite persons.

Our method was to present to 134 elite respondents in personal interviews a list of the names of 24 persons occupying the most prominent positions in the four elites studied.[1] We requested each respondent to indicate on a five-point scale how well he knew each of the persons listed: "personally well," "pretty well," "have had contact with him," "have heard of him," "have never heard of him." Respondent cooperation was, somewhat to our surprise, enthusiastic, and the typical response was considered and careful. Although semantic ambiguity and the possibility of biased responses would seem to undermine the reliability of this method, by interviewing 18 of the 24 persons on the list itself, and by cross-checking how each of them characterized his acquaintance with the 17 others we find in fact a satisfactory degree of reliability. Thus in 94 or the 153 possible reciprocal relationships between these 18 persons identical characterizations of the relationships were chosen by both parties to them. In another 53 there was a difference of one degree, i.e., the two parties used neighboring alternatives. In the remaining 6 relationships the difference was two degrees. The reliability of the instrument was further tested by computing rank-order correlations for the total scores each of the 18 respondents gave to the 17 other persons and the total scores each received from the other 17. We hypothesized that a person who indicated he knew many of the listed persons well should himself have received high scores from those persons. The resulting computations produced a Spearman's $r_s = .76$ and a Kendall's tau = .83, both coefficients indicating a satisfactory degree of reliability.

Armed, then, with responses indicating the intensity of personal acquaintanceship between 116 members of the four elites and the 24 persons occupying the generally most prominent positions in them, plus the degree to which 18 of these 24 prominent persons knew each other, we are able to examine the intensity of interaction both within and between each of the four key elites in Norwegian society. Converting the response "never heard of him" into zero and "know him personally well" into four, the rows in Table 1 present the average scores each of the four elites assigned to their own top members and to top members of the other elites, while the columns in the table present the average scores that each group of top elite persons on the list received from other elites. On the assumption that there is a division between political elite persons associated with the four parties making up the current coalition government and those associated with the opposition Labor

Party, politicians are grouped in two sub-elites. Intra-elite scores are enclosed in brackets to indicate that they are excluded from the computation of average inter-elite scores in column 6 and row 6.

Table 1: Intensity of Interaction Among Cross-Section of Five Norwegian Elite Groups, 1969.

Elite Groups	Trade Unions	Business	Administrative	Coalition Politicians	Labor Party Politicians	Average Interaction	N
Trade Unions	(3.9)	1.4	0.8	1.5	3.4	1.8	29
Business	1.6	(3.1)	2.1	2.5	2.0	2.1	42
Administrative	1.9	1.6	(2.9)	2.1	2.8	2.1	22
Coalition Politicians	1.9	1.7	2.0	(3.4)	2.5	2.0	29
Labor Party Politicians	3.7	1.5	1.4	2.6	(3.9)	2.3	12
Average Interaction	2.3	1.6	1.6	2.2	2.6	2.1	-
N	4	7	4	6	3	-	24/134[3]

Looking at Table 1, the first observation is that intra-elite interaction is more intense than inter-elite interaction for all five groups. This emphasizes again the autonomy and internal cohesiveness of Norwegian elites. Intra-elite interaction is most intense among Labor Party politicians and labor union leaders where nearly all persons interviewed knew the most prominent leaders of the two groups personally well. This reflects the marked centralization of the Norwegian Labor Movement, and it suggests the facility with which both leadership groups can act individually and jointly as cohesive units.[2] By contrast, interaction is least intense in the administrative elite, probably a consequence of the complex division of labor, departmental autonomy, and divergent jurisdictions that necessarily characterize a large, technically-oriented apparatus such as the civil service. Moreover, the fact that many conflicting policies and claims between departments are ironed out at cabinet or parliamentary levels probably reduces the need for administrators to personally coordinate activities with each other. The relatively intense interaction among politicians heading up the coalition government and its parties, on the other hand, probably results from the great demand for detailed coordination and teamwork a four-party venture of this sort entails. In this connection it is interesting to speculate whether intense interaction among coalition politicians is in a fairly strict sense an "elite phenomenon," that is, it does not occur at lower levels in the four historically distinct and opposed bourgeois parties. It is possible that in the pattern of interaction among coalition leaders we see one of the most concrete sociological manifestations of the much-discussed two-party system presumed to be emerging in Norway. Finally, the somewhat lower intensity of intra-elite interaction among businessmen probably results from the relatively decentralized structure of the private sector as well as from its geographic dispersal.

Turning next to the intensity of interaction between the several elites as measured in Table 1, we note that it is greatest between trade union leaders and Labor Party politicians. Compared with interaction between other elites, that between union and Labor Party leaders is so intense as to suggest that they in fact comprise one elite group. So far the modern differentiation of functions between unions and party has not significantly affected the degree to which both types of leaders are on more or less intimate terms. At the other extremity, however, is the much less intense interaction between union leaders and top members of the administrative elite. To some extent this finding reflects the fact that the primary functional contacts of union leaders are with businessmen-employers, not with civil servants. In addition, it is possible that union dealings with the governmental apparatus at the elite level proceed in considerable part through political channels at the cabinet and sub-cabinet levels and are therefore often processed through the leadership of the Labor Party.

Having noted the two extremes in the intensity of inter-elite interaction in Norway, we may now attempt a general view. Looking at the average interaction scores in row 6 and column 6 of Table 1, it is evident that Labor Party politicians, although out of office for four years by the time of our study, play the most central role in the elite system. That is, they at once knew the 24 most prominent persons in the four elites better and their own top leaders were better known by the members of other elites. Meanwhile, their colleagues in the labor unions display a bifurcated configuration. Detailed analysis of the matrix from which Table 1 is derived indicates that persons in other elites are better acquainted with the top union leaders on our list of 24 persons than respondents in the union elite are with the top leaders of other elites. In other words, interaction between union leaders and members of other elites fairly clearly takes place through the half dozen or so top union leaders, reflecting the centralized structure of the unions, rather than between each member of the union elite and all other elite persons. On this ground there is support for the conclusion that, looking strictly at interaction patterns, the union elite as a group is the most peripheral or isolated of the four central Norwegian elites.

The data for the business and administrative elites show the opposite pattern: in general their members indicate they know the top leaders of other elites better than the members of other elites know top business and administrative leaders. Although this pattern is somewhat perplexing, it may be that while members of both these elites interact fairly intensively with the top leaders of other elites, thus accounting for the high scores they "give" other elites, their own elite groups have no especially central leaders. Thus members of other elites tend to be less acquainted with the business and administrative leaders we placed on the list as most prominent. We are therefore inclined to view the bifurcated interaction patterns Table 1 shows for these two elites as mostly artificial, and we tentatively assert that both business and administrative elites engage in inter-elite interaction, the intensity of which is "moderate." Both elites are neither so peripheral as the union elite nor so central as the Labor Party politicians.

Conclusions: Recruitment data showing the infrequency with which persons in different elites interchange positions, and interaction data showing that intra-elite interaction is uniformly more intense than inter-elite interaction for all groups studied support the attribution of considerable autonomy to the Norwegian business, labor, political, and administrative elites. However, interaction data also suggest that a more accurate image of Norwegian elite structure is one that sees the functionally distinct elites integrated through relatively intensive interaction across elite boundaries in which individual elite actors are in the usual case personally acquainted with the most prominent leaders of the society's other major power blocs. When coupled with findings to be reported elsewhere,[3] namely that the attitudes of these persons do not seem to adhere to historic, conflicting ideological stances, but instead form a pronounced consensus about the desirability of present social conditions in Norway, we have partial but relatively convincing structural and attitudinal explanations, in the context of a theory of politics emphasizing the role of elites, for the highly stable and representative nature of Norwegian politics in the present period.

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Notes

*This is a preliminary, summary report and analysis of some material gathered in the course of more comprehensive research on elite structure and ideology in Norway. Collection of the data reported here was supported by grants from the Norwegian Research Council for Sciences and Humanities (NAVF), the University of Connecticut, and the University of Texas at Austin. The research was carried on at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, to the staff and director of which the authors express much appreciation. Berit Groholt gave much valuable assistance in coding the material for this paper. The authors participated equally in all phases of the research reported here and are thus listed alphabetically.

1. This technique was originally suggested by Professor Egil Fivelsdal, from whose interest and contributions we have benefited greatly.

2. For a detailed discussion of the structural determinants of this cohesion, especially within the labor unions, see Egil Fivelsdal & John Higley, "The Labor Elite in Norway: Social Backgrounds, Careers, Political Roles, and Power Status," Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. V (1970, forth-

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3. G. Lowell Field & John Higley, "Elite Unity in a Developed Polity: The Case of Norway," paper prepared for presentation at the meetings of the International Political Science Association, Munich, Germany, September 1970.

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SECONDARY-SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY: NEEDS AND RESOURCES

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Needs: The question whether or not sociology should be taught in secondary schools is legitimate to the extent that some well-respected sociologists may be found on either side. Meanwhile, sociology--or something going by its name or some thinly disguised alias--has found its way into the secondary-school curriculum and is being widely taught to significant numbers of students. A 1963 survey by Educational Testing Service revealed that approximately 25% of the public secondary schools surveyed included a course in their curriculum which was primarily sociological.[1] About half of the schools surveyed included major sociological topics somewhere in their curriculum. The question, then, as to whether or not sociology should be taught in secondary schools may be purely academic. A more important question seems to be the question of what responsibility professional sociologists wish to take, through their professional associations, for seeing to it that those courses which are taught are reasonably sound. The American Historical Association includes interested secondary-school teachers in its regular voting membership, maintains a Service Center for Teachers with one historian in its full-time employment, and publishes a series of topical pamphlets on various historical subjects. The American Sociological Association does not accept as voting members anyone with less than a Ph.D. in sociology or its equivalent and maintains no service for teachers such as that provided by the American Historical Association.

Who teaches secondary-school sociology? This is not an easy question to answer. There are currently several surveys in progress which hope to provide some answers. Some of these will be presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association meetings and others at the Southern Sociological Society meetings. Applications for summer institutes reveal, however, that some teachers of secondary-school sociology have had no formal course work in the subject. Significant numbers of others have had only an introductory course. It is quite obvious that such individuals are ill-prepared to teach an adequate course. There are, it should be added, however, some secondary-school sociology teachers who seem to be quite well-prepared, including some with undergraduate majors in sociology and some with significant graduate work. It is generally conceded that the college introductory course tends to be badly taught, often by graduate students and beginning instructors or assistant professors who lack teaching ability or experience, but often by experienced senior professors similarly lacking in teaching ability or who have little interest in teaching such a course. Some of the better secondary-school courses are doubtless as good as or better than most college introductory courses, but this does not appear to be generally the case. Some of the statements of applicants indicating why they wish to attend an institute reveal a woeful lack of understanding of just what it is that sociology is about. If this lack of understanding is conveyed to students in a formal course entitled "sociology", it is little wonder that some of the better students hold sociology in such low esteem, or that others come to us as Peter Berger suggests with some vague, ill-defined notion of "helping people,"[2] or that students drift into sociology in the naive hope of avoiding mathematics or some worse fate, failing to realize that sociology is primarily a research enterprise. The image of sociology that is conveyed is often quite erroneous and even injurious so far as the recruitment of potential future sociologists is concerned.

One of the problems in securing adequately-prepared teachers for secondary-school sociology courses lies in the fact that few schools seem to offer enough work in sociology to be able to employ a teacher to teach sociology either exclusively or even primarily. This creates a problem in teacher education programs. It is not always possible to assure a sociology major or a potential sociology major teaching employment primarily in the field of sociology. This is not to say, of course, that there are no such positions, only that such positions are limited. There are some. Significant numbers of institute applicants indicate such employment. There are those who argue that more schools would teach sociology if more qualified teachers were available, but this is hard to document. Teacher training institutions or departments are unlikely to respond except in the face of actual demand for such teachers. Meanwhile, the secondary-school sociology course is likely to be taught by the coach with a free period and six semester hours of sociology, or by the history teacher with a course in educational sociology. A survey of the present situation, which varies not only from state to state, but from district to district and even from school to school, may help to determine realistic standards of preparation for certification. Present standards vary widely from one state to another. Some institute participants with several courses in sociology indicate, for example, that they need additional hours of course work in sociology to qualify for certification to teach it in their states; whereas, others with less background or none indicate that they have been teaching sociology in their states for several years.

In many places, there is resistance to the teaching of sociology at the secondary-school level, or even at higher levels. This is no surprise in a society in which laws have been passed in support of racial segregation or to prohibit the teaching of human evolution and in which fluoridation of drinking water and the introduction of Zip Code were seen by some as monstrous Communist plots. There are even respected sociologists who oppose the teaching of secondary-school sociology on the grounds that it is not a suitable subject for the immature mind. Others oppose on the assumption that it cannot be fairly taught given the prevailing social climate just described and would rather see it not taught than see it taught on a compromised basis. Still others simply feel that there are more important things to be taught at the secondary-school level, where offerings should have maximum value for the greatest number. Given present social conditions, however, one could presumably make a fine case for the need for any knowledge having any bearing on the present social condition. Some would argue, of course, that those who pretend to know most about society are often those who most disrupt it, they in turn arguing that it needs to be disrupted and reconstituted. Be that as it may, sociologists seem to have no mandate either from the society or from God to bring about those social changes they may deem desirable. As scientists, the primary business of sociologists would seem to be that of understanding society, not of changing it. More and more sociologists, however, in their role as private citizens, and sometimes in their role as sociologists, seem to be involved in efforts to bring about social change. This is quite threatening for those who fear change. Last summer, a debate at Cambridge University centered on the question of whether or not sociology should be recognized as a discipline which could be read for a degree. One of the arguments of those opposed was that sociology attracted "the wrong kind of people." It is a fact, of course, that few student dissidents seem to be drawn from the ranks of business administration, education, and engineering; whereas, sociology seems to contribute a somewhat disproportionate share. It should be noted that this charge does not suggest that sociology produces "the wrong kind of people," only that it attracts them. Since secondary-school populations are already determined, the sociology course may then serve the purpose of identifying "the wrong kind of people!" Seriously, one can easily see the plight of the poor teacher who attempts to treat a controversial subject. Increasing permissiveness may be improving the climate of acceptability, however. Given the subjects now treated in films and on television and the frank manner in which such subjects are treated, it seems likely that the teacher in the classroom will enjoy more freedom than heretofore. At the same time, conservative elements unable to control either the film industry or the major television networks are, nevertheless, free to exercise some quite effective control at the local level and can often restrict what goes on in local schools. Most teachers can still identify with Scopes.

What about the books and materials used for teaching secondary-school sociology? There are on the market several secondary-school sociology textbooks. They seem to vary somewhat in quality from not so good to reasonably good, about as one might expect and not too different in their general range of quality from college introductory texts. The secondary-school texts do, naturally, tend to be somewhat simpler, but, since the course is generally offered as a twelfth-grade elective, some secondary-school teachers use the college-level texts, which are presumably only one grade level more advanced. The use of supplementary materials varies. Most secondary schools make greater use of films, slides, project materials, and other supplementary materials and exercises than the typical college. In some schools, however, particularly where the teacher is ill-prepared, there is almost total reliance on the textbook, as in the usual college introductory course. Budget limitations restricting teachers in poorer districts from purchasing supplementary materials have been somewhat offset in recent years by the availability of federal funds for purchasing such materials.

Resources: During his presidency of the American Sociological Association, Paul Lazarsfeld appointed a Committee on the Social Studies Curriculum of American Secondary Schools, under the chairmanship of Neal Gross, then of Harvard and now dean of the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania. Under the guidance of this committee and with financial support from the National Science Foundation, the American Sociological Association in 1964 established a project now entitled Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, which is located at 503 First National Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108, under the present direction of Robert C. Angell. The purpose of the project has been to produce a series of units, called episodes, to be used as supplementary materials in any secondary-school social studies courses which might appropriately take up these sociological topics and, at the same time, to produce a single semester, twelfth-grade level course in sociology. Some of the early units have been field tested and are now available from Allyn and Bacon Company, which has contracted for the publication of these materials. The secondary-school course, now in trial use, is to be published in 1972, when the project will be phased out. The American Sociological Association will retain the copywright on all these materials, which have been produced by teams of recognized sociologists and experienced secondary-school teachers. The principal sociologist in each team was selected for his research reputation in the area of the topic on which his team produced a unit. All of the units emphasize research in one way or another and are designed so as to involve the students in some aspects of the research process. Presumably, with these materials available, it will be possible to offer a more meaningful secondary-school course than is now the case. A new American Sociological Association Committee on the Teaching of Sociology and Social Studies in Secondary Schools has been appointed and will presumably succeed Neal Gross's committee, which is to be terminated when the Sociological Resources Project is phased out in 1972. Daisy Tagliacozzo, a current member of the Gross Committee, has been appointed chairman of the new committee. Robert C. Angell is a member of the new committee. As the former associate director of the Sociological Resources Project, I am also a member of the new committee.

There is some question as to whether or not most secondary-school sociology teachers have sufficient background to be able to use the Sociological Resources materials effectively. At approximately the same time that the Sociological Resources Project was established, the National Science Foundation financed a pilot institute for secondary-school sociology teachers. This institute was directed by Daisy Tagliacozzo, who has directed a continuous series of institutes since that time. A number of other institutes have subsequently been held, and, now that the Sociological Resources Project materials are becoming available, the National Science Foundation has increased the number of institutes slightly, restricted somewhat by present budgetary limitations. Some of these, including Daisy Tagliacozzo's current institute, are now academic year institutes. Others are summer institutes. This summer, for example, there will be seven National Science Foundation Summer Institutes in Sociology. These will be at: The University of Georgia (I am the director), The University of Iowa, Louisiana State University, The University of Santa Clara, California, Texas Woman's University, Utah State University, and Western Michigan University.

There are at least some specially-trained teachers available from such institutes who should be able to use the Sociological Resources materials effectively. Another group of teachers have had experience either in actually preparing these materials as members of teams engaged in developing the materials or as teachers during the field testing. Some teachers have had both field-testing and institute experience, and all those who worked on teams preparing the materials have had the opportunity to use them in their classes. The number of teachers with institute experience should increase significantly over the next several years, and regular preparation programs should now be introducing the new materials to teachers in preparation, particularly in those institutions such as the University of Georgia, in which institutes are being held. All institute directors will have the opportunity of spending several days at the Sociological Resources Project in Ann Arbor to gain familiarity with project materials prior to the opening of their institutes.

The Southern Sociological Society, largely on the initiative of Clyde Carter of Mary Washington College, Abbott L. Ferris of the Russell Sage Foundation, Marvin B. Wade of Stephen F. Austin State College, Melvin Williams of East Carolina State College, T. Stanton Deitrich of Florida State University, and myself, has organized a section on the teaching of secondary-school sociology, of which I am chairman this year. Some effort will be made to survey the teaching of secondary-school sociology in the several Southern states and to enlist the support of the Southern Sociological Society in an effort to improve the situation in the Southern region. A representative of the Sociological Resources Project will acquaint interested members with the work of the Project following the presentation of reports then available at the Southern Sociological Society meetings in Atlanta April 9-11, 1970.

Through the cooperation of the American Sociological Association, through its Committee on the Teaching of Sociology and Social Studies in Secondary School, and the National Council for the Social Studies, which is the principal organization of social studies teachers, the regional sociological societies, including both the Southern Society and the Southwestern Association, can, hopefully, began to have some influence on the standards for the secondary-school sociology course. The National Council for the Social Studies has an

Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Certification, of which I am a member, and it is eager to cooperate with the professional associations representing the several social science disciplines. It is the fifty state departments of education, however, which set certification requirements. To have any impact on the basic requirements, we must ultimately bring pressure to bear on the state departments of education. Meanwhile, it is possible to continue to upgrade present courses through the introduction of Sociological Resource Project materials and by the in-service preparation of inadequately prepared teachers in National Science Foundation financed institutes.

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PRESENT STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE OKLAHOMA SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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Introduction

Few sociological studies have been concerned with the increasing interest in the teaching of sociology at the high school level. This study was conducted in an effort to determine the present status of sociology and sociological instruction at the secondary level, and it is limited to accredited high schools in the state of Oklahoma. The investigator's major concern was to determine the percentage of high schools that offer sociology, the number of students enrolled in such courses, the qualifications of the sociology teachers, courses other than sociology the instructor teaches, and the content of the sociology course. A secondary concern was the students' interest in sociology at the high school level.

Literature

In an era when there is abundant evidence that man understands the technological world far better than he does the world of social interaction, it would seem that sociology should be an intricate part of the high school curriculum. Yet, only about one-fourth of the nation's high schools make such an offering.[1] However, educators are becoming increasingly aware of the need for sociology at the secondary level, and they have exhibited an increasing interest in the field as is evidenced by the revitalization of the entire social studies program.[2] Snyder and Patterson point to the stagnation of the social science program and its domination by the "sacred cow of history."[3] However, history as a safe, tiresome subject which avoids any "troubling of the waters" by evading pertinent controversial questions is being gradually expanded by the greater use of concepts from the behavioral social sciences of cultural anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.[4]

Accompanying the general trend of incorporating the behavioral social sciences into the high school social studies curriculum, was the appointment by the American Sociological Association in 1961 of a committee on the Social Studies Curriculum of American Secondary Schools. The result of this committee's work was the organization of the Sociological Resources for the Social Studies (SRSS), funded by a grant from the National Science Foundation.[5] The concern of the SRSS was twofold: (1) to design teaching materials that can be used in many social studies courses, including sociology, and (2) to design a high school sociology course. The SRSS course emphasizes the scientific method of inquiry, and employs the use of inductive teaching procedures.[6] The SRSS differs strikingly, in content and method, from what has been and is being taught as sociology in most of the high schools offering the subject. Much of the content taught in high school sociology has been concentrated on personal problems of students, social problems, and problems related to marriage and family.[7]

Source of Data and Methods

Data were collected from two sources: the Oklahoma State Department of Education, and a mail-out questionnaire sent to Oklahoma high school sociology teachers. Of the 220 high schools offering sociology, 100 were selected by use of the stratified random sampling technique. The researcher attempted to select a representative sample including both large and small high schools. For the purposes of this study, the larger high schools had more than 50 enrolled in high school sociology classes, and the smaller high schools had less than 50 students in sociology classes. A return rate of .67 was received from the questionnaire sent. A cover letter was attached to the questionnaires with a handwritten personal request for teachers to complete and return the questionnaires. The researcher felt that this informal method contributed to the high rate of return.

Findings

Of the 476 high schools in Oklahoma, 220 or 46% have offered a course in sociology in the last two years. One report reveals that no more than 25% of the secondary schools in the United States offer a course labeled sociology.[8] With 46% of Oklahoma high schools offering sociology, it appears that educators in Oklahoma feel sociology is worthwhile.

Accurate enrollment figures for sociology classes in Oklahoma were difficult to obtain because the accredited schools submit on a semester basis the number of students enrolled in different classes. In 1968, 7,901 students were enrolled in sociology classes; in 1969, 7,256 students were enrolled in sociology classes. The researcher realizes these figures were only representative of the fall semesters. Since sociology is only a one semester course, the spring semester figures were not available.

Teachers were asked to place in rank order of importance the disciplines within the social sciences. The mean rank assigned to the social science disciplines by teachers with a minimum 15 hours of sociology and by teachers with less then 15 hours of sociology as well as the mean ranks of respondents are shown in Table I. A comparison of rank orders assigned to the social science disciplines by teachers with a minimum 15 hours of sociology and above to teachers with less than 15 hours of sociology was made. Spearman's rank order correlation was used for this comparison with the resulting rho being .829. This evidence indicates positive correlation on the ranking of the social sciences by the two selected groups.

Table I. Mean Ranking Assigned To Social Science Disciplines By High School Sociology Teachers

Course	15 hours and above	Below 15 hours
Sociology	(1) 1.84	(2) 2.77
History	(2) 2.92	(1) 2.67
Government	(4) 3.20	(3) 3.00
Psychology	(3) 3.00	(4) 3.22
Economics	(6) 4.24	(6) 4.14
Geography	(5) 4.11	(5) 4.28

The researcher predicted that teachers with a minimum of 15 hours of sociology would rank sociology higher than teachers with less than 15 hours of sociology. The basic data used to make the statistical evaluation are found in Table II. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was applied to the data presented in Table II, and the results were significant at the .05 level of significance. Thus, the author concluded that sociology teachers with at least 15 hours of sociology (in some institutions enough for a minor) feel that sociology is more important than do teachers with less than 15 hours of sociology.

Table II. Comparison Of Ranking Assignments By Teachers With A Minimum Of 15 Hours Of Sociology To Those With Less Than 15 Hours Of Sociology

Rank	Teachers with 15 or more hours of sociology		Teachers with less than 15 hours of sociology		Difference
1	14	.560	8	.228	.332
2	4	.720	7	.428	.292
3	5	.920	11	.743	.177
4	1	.960	3	.828	.132
5	1	1.000	6	1.000	0
6	0	1.000	0	1.000	0

Chi square 6.43 df=2 p .05

Further analysis of the data showed that teachers reported a mean of 14.8 hours in sociology with a range of 3 to 45 hours. Six (8.95%) teachers have thirty or more, 27 (40.30%) have fifteen or more, and 14 (20.89%) have 6 hours or less. Of the respondents, 44 (65.67%) indicated that sociology was a minor area of teaching. These data substantiate the assumption that the high school teacher of sociology is traditionally poorly prepared. In a study of high school sociology teachers in Illinois, Grupp found 82% had fewer than thirteen college hours of sociology.[9] The general lack of preparation of teachers of sociology is evident throughout the literature.

An inquiry was made into the courses other than sociology that the instructor is teaching. The sample of 67 teachers revealed that 14 different courses were being taught. The courses and the number of teachers who taught these courses are listed in Table III.

Table III. Courses Other Than Sociology That Sociology Teachers Are Instructing

Course	No. of teachers	Course	No. of teachers
Psychology	30	Government	9
History	29	Civics	9
Economics	15	Problems of Democracy	19
English	15	Spanish	2
Speech	3	Counseling	2
Geography	4	Mathematics	2
Business Subjects	3	Home Economics	1

Table IV lists the courses offered before or after the semester in which sociology is taught.

Table IV. Course Offered The Semester Before Or After Sociology

Course	No. of schools	Course	No. of schools
Psychology	127	Human Relations	1
Economics	20	International Problems	1
Problems of Democracy	14	Government	3
Drivers' Education	1	Geography	7
Health	2	Social Problems	1
Vocations	1	Democracy	2
Indian Psychology	1	Information Not Available	40

Because sociology is taught only one semester each year, a number of other courses are offered the semester before or after sociology. In reference to Table IV, the researcher noted psychology and sociology are offered as accompanying courses in a majority of the schools. Most courses offered in conjunction with sociology appear to be germane to the discipline, however, it is difficult to associate high school geography and drivers' education with sociology.

The textbook choice for high school sociology courses has generally been perceived as inadequate. Before the advent of the SRSS, the use of college sociology texts was advocated and considered justifiable since sociology is predominately a senior course throughout the nation as well as in the state of Oklahoma. Presented in Table V are the textbooks used in sociology courses in Oklahoma and the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with them as reported by the sociology teachers.

Table V. Comparison Of Teachers Satisfied With Those Dissatisfied With High School Sociology Textbooks

Author of text	Number of teachers satisfied	Number of teachers dissatisfied
Landis	22	13
Cole, _et al_	6	2
Quin	4	5
Gavian, _et al_	2	2

An analysis of the SRSS proposed course of study for high school sociology reveals the use of the inductive method of teaching. Oklahoma sociology courses apparently differ in content from the SRSS proposal. Table VI depicts areas emphasized by teachers in Oklahoma high school sociology courses. Table VII reveals areas of student interest in sociology courses as reported by the teacher.

Table VI. Areas Of Study Emphasized In Sociology Courses As Reported By Oklahoma Sociology Teachers

Areas Teachers Emphasize	Number of Responses	Percentage
Concepts	32	47.8
Social Problems	58	86.6
Theory	21	31.3
Social Living	43	64.2
Culture	43	64.2
Socialization	38	49.3
Instutions	33	49.3
Social Welfare	26	38.8
Marriage,Family, Dating	45	67.2
Others	9	13.4

Table VII. Areas Of Student Interest

Students Interest Areas	Number	Percentage
Marriage and Dating	2	32.8
Social Problems	38	56.7
Concepts, Theory	2	3.0
Other	5	7.5

Social problems, dating, marriage, and family are apparently the areas of emphasis as reported by the teachers; it appears that there is a lack of emphasis on concepts and theory. Assuming that any basic course should teach the fundamentals of the subject, students should be given a foundation in the vocabulary of sociological terms and an overview of theory at the high school level. There is the possibility, however, that concepts, terms, and theory are integrated into the apparently popular areas of marriage and problems.

Conclusion And Recommendations

On the basis of the results obtained in this study, certain conclusions are warranted:

(1) Sociology teachers in Oklahoma at the high school level are apparently poorly prepared;
(2) Sociology teachers in Oklahoma at the high school level show a strong interest in the field;
(3) Course content in Oklahoma high schools is primarily centered around areas of social problems, marriage, and dating;
(4) A larger percentage of Oklahoma high schools are offering sociology than is indicated by surveys conducted on the national level.

The findings of this study help to substantiate much of what is currently believed about sociological instruction at the high school level. Consequently, it seems justifiable to recommend the following:

(1) That a larger sampling of Oklahoma schools be made;
(2) That a sampling of high school students enrolled in sociology courses be made to determine their interests and needs;
(3) That studies on this subject be conducted in other states.

Footnotes

1. Thomas Switzer and Everett K. Wilson, "Nobody Knows the Trouble We've Seen: Launching a High School Sociology Course," Phi Delta Kappan 50 (February 1969) p. 346.

2. Dwight W. Allen and Richard E. Gross, "Time for a National Effort to Develop the Social Studies Curriculum," Phi Delta Kappan 44 (May 1963) p. 360

3. Franklin Patterson, "Social Science and the New Curriculum," The American Behavioral Scientist (November 1962) p. 29.

4. Eldon E. Snyder, "The Behavioral Sciences and the Social Science Curriculum of the American High School," The Social Studies 56 (January 1965) p. 6.

5. Switzer and Wilson, op. cit.

6. Richard C. Phillips, "A New Sociology Course for Senior High Schools," The Social Studies 60 (March 1969) pp. 125-128.

7. Rita Corcoran, T. Earl Sullenger and Mildred Surface, "Sociology in the Secondary Schools," The Journal of Educational Sociology (April 1950) p. 488.

8. Switzer and Wilson, op. cit. p. 346.

9. Stanley E. Grupp, "The Status of Teaching Sociology In the High Schools," Sociology and Social Research (April 1961) vol. 45, no. 3.

THE STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF TEXAS

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This study was conducted to gather information about sociology in the high schools in Texas.

In the spring of 1969 questionnaires were sent to each of the 1,323 public and private secondary schools listed in the 1968-69 Public School Directory published by the Texas Education Agency. Five hundred sixty-seven questionnaires were returned.

Analysis of the data yielded the following findings:

(1) Ninety high schools in Texas reported offering one or more classes in a course titled sociology during the 1968-69 academic year. There were 8,390 students enrolled in these classes. In 1965 a similar study was condected by the Department of Sociology at the Texas Woman's University. It was found that seventy-one high schools in Texas offered sociology to 6,660 students enrolled in sociology classes. These data indicate the rate of increase is five schools per year with an increase of 432 students per year.

The number of schools offering sociology is less than the number of schools offering economics or geography, but greater than those offering psychology or anthropology.

(2) The most widely used text in the high school sociology classes was Sociology by Paul H. Landis. Twenty-six per cent of the schools offering sociology use this text. Eleven per cent have selected Cole and Montgomery's High School Sociology. In ten per cent of the schools offering sociology multiple texts and/or library books and current periodicals were used.

(3) Only eleven per cent of the teachers of sociology in Texas have a major in sociology.

(4) The respondents from the 473 schools not offering a formal course in sociology were asked about the school's position concerning sociology and the reason(s) sociology was not taught. Both questions had structured answers. To the question, which statement most accurately expresses the position of your school, seven per cent responded, "We are planning to add sociology to the curriculum in the near future." (Three schools indicated sociology would be added during the 1969-70 academic year.) Twenty-eight per cent indicated that they would like to add sociology to the curriculum, but they had no definite plans at that time. Sixty-five per cent responded that they had no plans at the time to add sociology to the curriculum. (Sixty-eight questionnaires contained no information.

Fifteen per cent of the respondents indicated that their school did not teach sociology because of the scarcity of teachers trained in sociology. Thirty-four per cent stated there is little or no demand for the subject and another thirty-four per cent said given subjects which must be taught, the curriculum is already too crowded. Eleven per cent indicated it is traditionally felt that sociology is not as important as the traditional courses which are taught. Other reasons such as money, feeling that sociology was included in existing courses, etc. were listed by six per cent.

Sixty-seven of the 473 schools which do not teach a formal course in sociology offer courses which are in part sociology.

Forty of the 473 schools not offering a formal sociology course do include units of sociology in other social studies courses.

No general trends can be identified and no conclusions can be made since comparative data for other states or time periods is lacking.

SOCIOLOGY IN SELECTED 3A AND 4A HIGH SCHOOLS IN TEXAS

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W. Jeff Reynolds, Thiel College
William L. York, Fresno State College

In less than a century sociology has achieved considerable acceptance and even a measure of prominence in the academic community. The last few decades have seen a considerable increase in the number of colleges and universities offering a graduate program in sociology, with nearly all offering an undergraduate major. But unlike its siblings in the social and behavioral sciences, sociology has yet to receive acceptance as a teaching field on the high school level. Why this lack of acceptance of sociology on the high school level?

There seem to be two factors preventing sociology from becoming an accepted part of the high school curriculum in Texas. The most obvious factor is that sociology has not been designated by the Texas Education Agency as an approved teaching field for those students in secondary education programs. This lack of official approval of sociology as a teaching field makes it extremely unlikely, or even impossible, for secondary education students to complete an undergraduate major in sociology. Since there are few teachers adequately prepared to teach sociology on the high school level, it is understandable that the TEA is apprehensive about adding sociology as an approved teaching field. According to L. Harlan Ford, Assistant Commissioner for Teacher Education and Instructional Services for the TEA, "...there are not enough students enrolled in the public schools of the State of Texas, in sociology, to warrant a full time teaching assignment in this subject." And further, "Whenever the enrollment in sociology in the high schools of Texas reaches 10,000 students, the State Board of Examiners will reconsider sociology as a teaching field."[1] Thus, a "vicious cycle" is evident. Few teachers are adequately prepared to teach sociology, thus few schools will offer a course in sociology, and the Texas Education Agency does not consider it desirable to approve teacher preparation based on the current limited number of sociology courses offered.

A second factor for the relative neglect of sociology as a high school teaching area can be traced to the lack of concern among professional sociologists. In a study of sociology in Illinois high schools published in 1961, Stanley E. Grupp cited a personal letter from the Chairman of the Committee on Sociology of Education of the American Sociological Association, Dr. Wilbur B. Brookover, in which he stated that the Association had not "...done any survey of high school offering" in sociology.[2] Fairly soon the reafter in 1961, however, the ASA authorized the appointment of a Committee on the Social Studies Curriculum of American Secondary Schools.[3] In 1964 the Committee became the Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools.[4] In 1966 the SRSS extended its activities and became the Sociological Resources for the Social Studies under the direction of Robert C. Angell of the University of Michigan.[5] While the SRSS did finally exhibit that sociologists were aware of the void relative to high school sociology, it was primarily concerned with examining and improving the content of existing sociology courses rather than developing and extending sociology as an accepted teaching field. The fact remained that there was, and is, mixed feelings among sociologists about offering sociology on the high school level.

At the ASA meeting in 1967 Dr. Everett K. Wilson summarized some of the basic objections to teaching sociology on the high school level. These are:

1. Sociology is intrinsically too difficult in content, concepts, and methods to be handled adequately on the high school level.
2. Sociology is intrinsically disruptive in that it prys into the sacred as well as the conventional aspects of social life.
3. High school sociology teachers are not well enough qualified to do justice to the discipline.
4. If taught in high school, it must be re-taught on the college level.[6]

While the logic of some of these objections is obviously fallacious, the arguments have evidently maintained a considerable measure of disinterest in high school sociology among professional sociologists.

Realizing these factors preventing sociology from becoming accepted on the high school level, and realizing the recent counter trend (the establishment of the SRSS) has there been any significant change in the status of sociology in the high schools of Texas? The present study seeks to provide a partial answer to this question.

The Study

In 1965 the Texas Education Agency listed fifty-seven schools offering sociology as part of their high school curriculum. Information relative to the number of schools offering sociology in 1968, again listed by the TEA, gave the then current number as seventy-four. The present study sought to determine the validity of these figures as well as determine the nature of the courses in sociology being offered, the educational background of the sociology instructors involved, the texts being used, and the general reaction of administration, faculty, and students to the sociology courses.

Since the 1968 listing of high schools offering sociology by the TEA indicated that ninety per cent of these were classified as either 3A or 4A, the present study was limited to schools of these two classifications. The population of the study thus consisted of the two hundred eleven 4A and one hundred forty-eight 3A schools so classified in the University Interscholastic League Listing. Schools thus included had an enrollment of four hundred fifty students and above.

Systematically selecting every seventh school classified as either 3A or 4A in the University Interscholastic League Listing yielded a sample of fifty-one schools (thirty classified as 4A and twenty-one classified as 3A). The initial correspondence was mailed to the principals of these fifty-one schools on November 1, 1968.[7] Two follow-up letters at one month intervals were sent to those not responding. A total of twenty-six of the thrity 4A schools and eighteen of the twenty-one 3A schools responded to the survey (return of eighty-six per cent). Of the fourty-four schools responding, only ten indicated that they offered a course designated as sociology. These ten positive responses supplied the data for the present study.

Though only twenty-three per cent of the schools sampled indicated an offering in sociology this is considerably higher than the eighteen per cent expected based on the TEA listing of schools offering sociology. That the TEA listing is an underestimate is supported in that five of the schools in the sample indicating a course in sociology were not included in the TEA listing. It is a safe assumption, then, that more schools offer sociology than are recognized by the TEA. It is evident, and perhaps encouraging, that the number of schools offering sociology is increasing.

As expected, the schools offering sociology are concentrated in the Houston, Dallas-Ft. Worth, Austin, and San Antonio areas. The sociology course is generally offered on the senior level and is one semester in length (one unit).

The data from the questionnaires indicate that the administration, the faculty, and the students react favorably to the sociology offerings in those schools offering such a course.

The Instructors

As indicated by the data in Table 1., the majority of instructors teaching sociology in the high schools of Texas hold no graduate degree in sociology and have their area of emphasis outside the field of sociology.

Table 1. Highest degree, major, and teaching load of sociology instructors.

Highest Degree	No. of Instructors	Major Area			No. of soc. classes taught per semester
		Sociology	Social Studies	Other	
B.A. or B.S.	7	0	3	4	2.5
M.A.	1	1	0	0	2.0
M.Ed.	3	1	0	2	3.3
Totals	11	2	3	6	

The data in Table 1. also indicate that sociology instructors usually teach in other fields and give only limited time to teaching sociology.

Special Problems

Asked to comment on any special problem in connection with either introducing sociology into the curriculum or in teaching sociology on the high school level, respondents indicated the following problem areas:

1. There was an inability to secure multi-ethnic textbooks.
2. There was an inability to obtain current information relative to sociology.
3. The course should be limited to seniors, assuming that seniors are better able to relate to problems of adult life.

Sociology texts

Five different texts were mentioned as being used in Texas high school sociology courses. These are:

Cole, *Sociology in the High School*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1963.
Gavian and Rienow, *Our Changing Social Order*, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1964.
Landis, *Social Living*, Boston: Ginn, 1958.
Quinn, *Living in Social Groups*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1962.
Roucek and Warred, *Sociology*, Totowa: Littlefield, Adams, 1968.

Summary and Conclusions

Texas high schools are increasingly adding sociology to their curricula. However, the present study indicates that the sociology instructors remain ill-prepared and presumably are "drafted" from other fields and give only limited time to teaching sociology. The problems mentioned by respondents indicate a lack of awareness of materials available in sociology. Also indicated is a "problems" approach to the study of sociology.

If there is to be continued interest in adding sociology to the high school curriculum, at least three imperatives are evident for professional sociologists:

1. High school teachers in sociology need to be informed of materials available for their courses.
2. Since the majority of high school sociology teachers have specialized in other areas, there is a need to provide instruction in the basic concepts and methods of sociology for these teachers. Summer institutes for sociology teachers seems a favorable possibility.
3. New materials need to be developed designed specifically for use on the high school level (the SRSS is now working along this line).

Hopefully, further research will determine more specifically the demands and requirements made on high school sociology teachers thus allowing materials and institutes to be designed to eliminate deficiencies which might exist. Also, if the interest of sociologists is genuine, some procedure for developing teachers interested in sociology and determining which schools might wish to offer sociology courses is needed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Personal communication from L. Harlan Ford to M. B. Wade, February 19, 1970.
2. Stanley E. Grupp, "The Status of Teaching Sociology in High Schools", Sociology and Social Research 45 (1960-1961) p. 330.
3. Sociological Resources for the Social Studies (American Sociological Association, 1968) p. 3.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Everett K. Wilson, "The SRSS Course in Sociology for High School Students," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, August, 1967.
7. Copies of the questionnaire used in the study can be obtained from M.B.Wade.

DEVELOPING A COURSE IN HOME AND FAMILY LIFE FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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Longview High School

For several years Longview High School has offered an accredited course in the Homemaking Department, covering every conceivable aspect of family life, to senior boys and girls. This has proven quite popular with the students, parents and the administration. This course, which is made up of about equal numbers of young men and women, is designed to teach better human relationships in family, school, business, marriage, and on through retirement and old age. Sex education is taught as a part of life, not as a separate unit.

As proof of the need for such a course on the secondary level, are the following facts:

1. The growing number of teenage marriages.
2. Only half of the teenage marriages survive the divorce courts.
3. One in four of all American marriages ends in divorce
4. Each day eight hundred babies are born to unmarried mothers.
5. Venereal diseases have reached epidemic levels in every part of the United States.
6. Our mass media play up the so-called "new-morality" and sexual permissiveness, to the detriment of many young people.
7. Family Life Education (often called sex education) is rarely taught in the home. Most young people get their information from each other, not from their parents or their church schools.

Before undertaking to teach such a course, it is wise for the teacher to be sure she has clarified her own thinking on such emotion-packed issues as mixed marriages, pre-marital sex, use of credit, adoption, abortions and the whole host of issues that impinge on the modern-day American family.

Today, students come from a wider variety of backgrounds than ever before. In one class there may be differences in race, religion, financial and educational backgrounds. It would be ridiculous to assume that any one person could give one pat answer to the family life problems that might be discussed. Still, the teacher must face these questions and deal with them as they arise, whether it involves sex, use of money or whatever.

Referring to works by authorities on the subject, certain guidelines for our course became evident.

1. Teaching this type of course does not give the teacher the right to impose her own moral standards and ethical values on her students. Her job is to teach, not preach.

2. Often the instructor will be called upon to give an opinion based on her personal feelings about an issue. When this happens she should give an honest answer, but explain to the student that there could be other answers to the problem, depending on the background and experience of the persons involved.

3. Sex education is included where and when it is a part of the course. As Sander M. Latts points out, "To offer family life education without a full examination of sex information, sex attitudes and sex emotions is like trying to teach nutrition

> without reference to eating".[1] Accordingly sex education in our course comes up in dating, the adjustments of marriage, parenthood, and the teaching of sex in the home.

What started as one class of twelve girls and four boys, mostly social misfits, has grown to four classes of thirty-five students each, about evenly divided between boys and girls, and representing a good cross-section of the total student body. One hundred and fifty out of a class of five hundred seniors are presently enrolled in Home and Family Life.

Breifly, this is what is included.

In September, the course is introduced by outlining the nine phases of Family Life, or the Life Cycle of the Family. Too often young people have thought vaguely of their future as when they meet and marry the "one and only", never thinking beyond that point. At the beginning we try to stretch their imaginations to consider the vast expanse of years that lie ahead after marriage, and even after the children in a family are grown and raising families of their own. We try to stress that the planning for a lasting, happy marriage is just as important as planning for a successful career. We also try to point out that the successful handling of each phase of family life prepares us for the handling of the next phase of the cycle. During this introductory part of the course each student writes a description of a real or imaginary "Ideal Family". Then, we get down to the business of studying what qualities go into the making of an "ideal" family. From there it is an easy step to point out that it all begins with dating —— "Tonight's date could be your lifetime mate." Buzz groups, textbook reading and Dear Abby columns are all a part of this phase. Pet peeves concerning dates are aired by both boys and girls, going steady is discussed pro and con, and moral aspects of dating are dealt with. Often a young minister, youth worker or counselor can be the resource person here. Guidance Associates has a wonderful film strip that forms the basis for discussion of such modern-day issues as: Drinking, Sex, Smoking and Drugs. The Alcohol Information Center has additional films and will provide speakers concerning Teens and Alcohol. As one student expressed it, "This is the first time I have ever had the opportunity to discuss openly with others of my age important things that you wouldn't dare mention to parents." Popularity and personality development conclude the first six weeks unit with a speaker from the Dale Carnegie Institute.

In our second six weeks together we try to help the students decide on their values and goals, using various teaching techniques. Every community has its outstanding citizens and this is an ideal time to have them come to the classes individually and explain their particular philosophy of life. We try to have about six different people, male and female, from widely separated walks of life. In the past it has included a homemaker, a rabbi, a priest, a business, a school counselor, and a football coach. It never fails to amaze me how willing busy people are to share their time and ideas with young people. Often students identify with one or more of the speakers and in this way begin to clarify their own ideas of life and what they want from it. A written assignment entitled "My Philosophy of Life" is required. This, they are assured, is confidential and will not be shared with anyone without their permission.

During the remainder of this six weeks we use films, the text and panels to delve into the topics of "Choosing a Marriage Partner", "Teenage Marriages", "The Engagement Period" and "The Wedding". Secret marriages, civil ceremonies, simple church weddings and large formal affairs are all discussed in detail, advantages and disadvantages of the various types of wedding ceremonies are explored and the cost of each type is figured.

During the third six weeks we get into the seven areas of adjustment, according to Landis and Landis in their book, "Personal Adjustment, Marriage and Family Living."[2] These are:

1. Sex
2. Money
3. In-laws
4. Use of leisure time
5. Choice of friends and social life
6. Religion
7. Rearing and disciplining of children

Much has been said pro and con about teaching sex in the schools. In our particular Home and Family Life course we try to keep in mind the views expressed by Dr. Paul Popenoe in his Marriage column when he stated that ideally, sex should be taught in biology, social sciences, health and in any other subject wherever it occurs. But, he stated, Family Life Education Courses offer the logical place to include sex instruction.[3] Those who oppose it have spent considerable time and money distributing leaflets which urge Americans to rise up and ban sex education in the schools. Sex education is not only the responsibility but also the right of the parent, they say. We agree. But, of three hundred senior students questioned within the past year, we found only three percent who said they received sex instruction from their parents. By their senior year, all these students are educated along these lines by movies, television, magazines and discussion with each other, and this is not always the kind of sex education we would choose for them, at all. So what we do in this course could not possibly usurp the parent's right, or cause psychological problems for the student. Rather, it is a belated attempt to put sex into proper focus, to establish its rightful place as a part of marriage, something to be honored and cherished by husband and wife within the bonds of matrimony. Dr. Paul Popenoe's article, " Are Virgins Out of Date?"[4] is discussed as well as the Family Life Bulletin entitled "Some Myths in Sex Education".[5] This puts sex exactly where it belongs and explodes many myths about so-called "new morality". A young Presbyterian minister in our community also presents an excellent talk entitled the "Sexual Adjustment in Marriage", where the spiritual and moral element of sexual union are stressed.

Each of the remaining phases of adjustment are handled with quite a bit of time being spent on Money Management. Banking, Insurance, Investments, and Credit are all discussed by experts in the field so that the students will have at least a working knowledge of interest rates, the value of a good credit rating and an idea of how to set up a spending plan for a couple or a family. According to a local lawyer, who handles many divorce cases each year, the underlying cause in over ninety percent of these cases is financial. Money is so closely related to our values, goals and ideals in life that when we have difficulty in getting along with a mate, it usually involves the use of money. Students are asked to act as Money Counselors and solve specific money problems for mythical couples in financial disagreement.

During the money management phase we have several weeks on consumer with special emphasis on food. In our particular situation in Longview, because of the physical arrangements, we have some time in the Food Lab. Besides the basic nutrition, meal planning, stretching the food dollar and care and use of appliances that would be possible in any classroom situation, we are now able to include the actual cooking of such meals as: "The In-laws are Coming for Dinner", "Speedy Meals for the Working Couple", "After-the-Game-Snack", "Starting the Day with a Good Breakfast", "Packing the Lunch Box", "A Balanced Meal for Six for Two Dollars" and "A Buffet Meal for a Crowd". Field trips to the grocery store, the Electric Company and to a meat processing plant are all a part of this unit. This particular unit can be adapted to the school situation. We teach it just after the money management phase of the course.

Adjustments involving the In-laws come next. Here the students use Landis' "Ten Rules for Getting Along with Your In-laws"[6] as a guide. We have role-playing concerning the right and wrong way to handle in-law conflicts. Each student takes part. Some of these performances are worthy of Academy Awards!

The other adjustments of marriage are discussed in less detail, with, perhaps a speaker or a film dealing with the adjustments of Religion, Use of Leisure Time and Social Life.

Our next six weeks is devoted to a detailed study of the seventh adjustment of marriage: The Rearing and Disciplining of Children. Here, again, we call on a specialist to present another phase of Sex Education: Reproduction and Birth. The school nurse, in most communities, is certified by the Red Cross to give Pre-Natal and Infant Care Courses to groups of individuals, including Homemaking Students. In this course, a vocabulary of words dealing with the male and female reproductive organs, conception and birth is given. Inspite of their apparent sophistication, many of these high school students, by their own admission, learn it "like it is" for the first time. The school nurse comes four times in a two week period, each time covering in detail the next step in the development of the unborn child, through to birth and post-natal care of infant and mother. Between the nurse's lectures, we have carefully chosen films concerning conceptions and birth and infant care. No actual birth scenes are shown to this mixed group, so even the most shy and sensitive person need not be embarrassed. We generally include a panel of new fathers in this unit of study. They are rounded up by the students and our most recent ones included a personnel manager from a large company, a college student, a teacher, and an insurance salesman. One thing they had in common was a burning desire to tell someone about their new offspring and what it is like to be a new father.

Child development is the natural follow-up from here. Special problems such as retardation, phsyical handicaps and delinquency are brought out, but the main emphasis is on the bright side of family life and the normal development of children through adolescence to adulthood. The Generation Gap comes in for a thorough airing. Getting that first job and choosing a career also have a place in this unit.

In the fifth six weeks unit we delve into the special problems that might arise in family life such as separation, divorce, alcholoism, illness or death of one of the partners. Laws governing family living are studied. The positive side of all this is dealt with also, covering such topics as "84 Ways to Make Your Marriage More Exciting"[7] and individual reports from the articles "Can this Marriage be Saved?" from Ladies Home Journal. A speaker outlining the ways to "How to be Happy Though Married" completes this phase.

The final six weeks brings us to the last phase of Family Life Cycle: the Aging Years. Films, a visit to a retirement home and a visit from a retired couple are all a part of this. This also gives an opportunity to lead into the final part of the course, "Housing through the Years". Field trips to everything from a garage apartment, low-income housing, small homes, mobile homes, new homes, efficiency apartments, luxury apartments, and a dream house. Costs of each type of housing are noted and it is decided which type of housing would be suitable for each phase of family life. Real estate terms and procedures are explained by an expert, and costs of buying and renting are compared. Home safety is included here. The year is ended with students drawing a small house plan to scale and estimating the cost of furnishing it for a couple just starting out in marriage.

When the year is over and the course has been completed, how can we know if we have reached our objectives! Authorities agree that such a course is far more difficult to evaluate than most, simply because the material taught will not be used until a later date and behavioral changes are difficult to record. Unfortunately I have no actual figures on the divorce rate of those who have had Family Living Courses. But the bureau of statistics give these revealing figures:

1 out of 4 marriages end in divorce
1 out of 2 teenage marriages end in divorce
1 out of 70 college graduate marriages end in divorce
1 out of 270 marriages end in divorce when the wife has a degree in Home Economics [8]

This Home Economics degree, of course, includes a course on the Family. Some authorities believe these figures apply also wherever one of the partners has had a high school or college course on Family Life.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sander M. Latts, A Teacher's Syllabus for Functional Marriage and Family Courses, p. 12.

2. Judson C. and Mary G. Landis, Personal Adjustment, Marriage and Family Living, p. 199.

3. Paul Popenoe, Young Marriage Column, Port Arthur Times, Sunday Mar. 7, 1970.

4. Paul Popenoe, "Are Virgins Out of Date?", American Institute of Family Relations, Publication No. 28.

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THE ROLE OF LEGISLATURES IN LATIN AMERICA

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Although a vast amount has been written about Latin American politics since Fidel Castro's triumph drew attention to the region eleven years ago, Latin American legislatures have received practically no attention. This is easy to understand. Latin American legislatures rarely have actually anything like the importance the constitutions regularly assign to them. Political turbulence and ancient tradition have concentrated power in the hands of the executive. But if legislatures are declining in the Anglo-European political systems, it is quite conceivable that in Latin America they may be increasing in significance. The economic and social structure of these countries is becoming more complex, with new interests forming and previously-voiceless elements seeking a forum of expression. These countries also have a deep-rooted dedication to republican principles. Dix's remark about Colombia could apply to the entire region: "What legitimacy does attach to the government of Colombia is a republican legitimacy . . . ,"[1] and a popularly-elected congress is part of republicanism. This does not mean that legislatures in Latin America are likely to become what legislatures elsewhere increasingly are not, that is, supreme law-making bodies. But they may well become the governmental body in which the diversity of the population is best reflected, where opposition can be expressed in a legitimate and constructive way, which at least can influence the decision-making process by publicizing demands and criticizing government performance.

To find out what role a legislature plays it is necessary to look at it in the context of its political system. "What functions does the legislature perform for the system--that is, what does it do that contributes to the adjustment or adaptation of the system, that is necessary to the maintenance of the system?"[2] In the following brief discussion I focus on how legislatures contribute (or fail to contribute, for their activities may be dysfunctional) to the resolution of three of the six crises of political development identified by Pye: the participation crisis, the distribution crisis, and the integration crisis.[3] The participation crisis involves the pressure put on the existing institutions by the entry of new groups into politics. The distribution crisis is over the allocation of material and other values and government's role in this. The integration crisis subsumes the other two, since it involves the establishment of a political community; how much opportunity new groups have to participate and how satisfactorily values are distributed bear on whether such a community is achieved. Here I will deal with the integration of congress as an institution and comment separately on its contribution to the integration of the system as a whole.

In applying this framework, I concentrate on Chile and Colombia largely because there is more available information about their congresses than is true of other countries. A good part of my information and interpretation of the Chilean congress comes from work done by Weston H. Agor. James L. Payne is my major source for Colombia.[4] The Chilean and Colombian systems are somewhat atypical of Latin American countries because of their long histories of relatively stable politics, but perhaps an examination of them can show the utility of asking functional questions about the role of other legislatures in Latin America.

The Chilean and Colombian Congresses and the Crises of Development

Chile is always cited as the major exception to legislative impotence in Latin

America. From 1891 to 1925 government was dominated by congress controlled by a small elite. Since 1925 the elitist nature of congress has been diluted by the influx of middle-class and even a few lower-class politicians. The congress remains influential and independent, although a strong presidential government has developed since 1925.

Colombia is also a country which (at least up until la violencia and the dictatorships of 1950-1957) was deemed to be one of the most stable, democratic countries in Latin America. It had a well-defined two-party system and reasonably free elections by which power was peacefully transferred between the two parties of an elite. Despite many changes since the 1930's, politics to a very large degree continues to be in the hands of an elite, "substantially a self-perpetuating minority in control of the key power resources of the society, without any real accountability to the rest of the community" (Dix, p. 43).

During the 20th century Congress has played a significant role, frequently asserting its independence of the executive. This has been true under the National Front as well.

Internal integration.

Chile. Detailed information on the internal operations of the Chilean congress is available only for the Senate, but by all indications the Chamber of Deputies is not fundamentally different. Weston Agor's research on the Senate shows that it is a highly integrated institutionalized body, despite very real policy and partisan differences. Senators have institutional loyalty and a sense of being "fellow senators" despite differences. Norms discourage personal attacks. Retiring senators are given affectionate eulogies by members of opposing parties. Within committees a member may cast a proxy the way an absent member would have voted, even though this is contrary to the proxy-holder's own vote. Hard work and legislative competence are esteemed; grand-standing is not. Attendance at sessions is good. Senate committees have professional staffs. Senators and staff have long experience and much real work is done. Executive bills are frequently altered. The small informal sessions, held behind closed doors, help to contribute to the feeling of comradeship and mutual respect. The average senator in Chile is a career politician in the sense that he has usually held office either in the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies for several terms. Two-thirds have served an "apprenticeship" in the Chamber.[5]

Unfortunately, no similar research exists for the Chamber of Deputies. It is three times as large as the Senate and presumably does not have the same club-like atmosphere. Members are less seasoned politicians. Committees are larger, party discipline is more strictly enforced, legislative expertise is lower and the debates apparently are less dignified. All of these factors would tend to make the Chamber of Deputies less cohesive an institution than the Senate is. Nevertheless, the Congress as a whole is marked by an "air of cordiality and mutual respect" and opposing political affiliations may accompany cordial personal relationships.[6] In short, it seems reasonable to assume that both houses of the Chilean Congress constitute parts of a political structure possessing a high degree of internal integration.

Colombia. Despite its long history and reputation for independence the Colombian congress is much less an institution than is the Chilean congress, and its activities are less integrative. The congress only meets Tuesday through Thursday and lack of a quorum often prevents these meetings. "Floor time is largely spent either in dreary reading of documents and pro forma voting or in acrimonious debate, the purpose of which is to attract attention . . . Debates are characterized by personal charges, irresponsible attacks and condemnations and, frequently, zambra (physical violence). The observers in the galleries are free to cheer and shout down speakers."[7] Congressional committees are hardly more effective. They lack professional staff. Little or no use is made of expert witnesses and secret sessions. Even members of the important budget committee make no serious effort to study the budget; some members are so uninformed as to be unaware of basic information about budget or even how the legislative process operates (Payne, pp. 46-47).

The fact is that most Colombian congressmen are only interested in becoming congressmen, not in being congressmen. What they seek from the office above all else is status; ideology and program are not major concerns. Consequently, only about one out of five Representatives return for a second consecutive term and another one-fifth or less of the moves on up to the Senate at the next election. The Senators themselves seldom return for a second term.

All in all, the Colombian congress clearly is not primarily concerned with discussing issues and compromising policy differences. Alliances are formed between party factions for strategic political reasons and not because of agreement on program. Support or rejection of presidential programs is likewise largely political; the various factions want positions in the government, and the degree and consistency of their support is heavily influenced by their present satisfaction with and future expectations of positions.

Participation Crisis.

A congress could help solve the participation crisis in several ways: Members of formerly excluded groups might themselves gain entry to congress and represent the interests of their classes. More likely, men of higher status might base a political career on being elected by lower-class votes and speaking for these elements. And between elections, members of congress might continually channel demands from the public to the policy-making centers, and help explain government policies to the public. In such ways congressmen might narrow the gap between the masses and the government.

Chile. A congress is not likely to be a cross section of the population and this certainly holds true for Chile. The Chilean Senate is quite an exclusive group. A few individuals, especially of parties of the left, have risen to the middle-class from rather humble beginnings, but almost all senators are upper or middle class. Many are wealthy businessmen; "candidates for membership in 'the millionaires club' are numerous among Chile's senators."[8] Doubtless the Chamber of Deputies contains a higher proportion of lower-status individuals, but we may expect it too to be overwhelmingly middle-class or above. Moreover, it appears that those who rise in politics from the lower groups tend to identify with the values of the traditional elites; this was largely true of the middle-class in the past and appears to be happening to the upper working class today.[9]

Even if the lower classes seldom actually put their members in Congress, many Chilean legislators make politics a career, which means being reelected. The candidate need not reside in his district, but senators typically have represented the same part of their country over most of their careers, including their tenure in the Chamber. Many see the importance of "running errands" for their districts and make successful careers doing so, to the point of voting against their own parties at times.[10] The PR electoral system provides that the vote be cast for a specific individual rather than the party list, which should improve candidate-constituent linkage. But one must be literate to vote, and 15 per cent of the population over fourteen is not (Gil, p. 20); these would be found disproportionately among the urban and rural lower classes. Moreover, apportionment of congress is based on the 1930 census, thus under-representing the multitudes who have migrated to the cities.[11]

Between elections a continuing linkage is maintained between the Chilean congress and groups outside the government. Some are represented directly: fully 20 per cent of senators (but only 1 per cent of deputies) are directors of the top group of corporations in the country.[12] A few senators have connections with labor unions. Organized groups of both right and left have access during the committee stage of legislation and maintain informal contacts with congressmen. To what extent congressmen have contact between elections with unorganized interests and individuals of the lower class is unknown, but it is probably minimal.

Colombia. The popularity of Gaitán in the 1940's and the success in the 1960's of Rojas Pinilla's ANAPO in appealing to the urban and rural lower class attest to the fact that Colombia still faces the problem of bringing these groups into the political process.

The political leadership of Colombia contains some individuals from humble circumstances, but they are not numerous. Moreover, such a person does not serve as a spokesman for the class from which he came but instead adopts elite values as part of his struggle for status. The notable exception was Jorge Eliécer Gaitán who came from a low-status background, but "to date he has been the only Colombian to have attained major political stature by challenging the position of the elite and appealing to the Colombian masses" (Dix, p. 100).

The electoral system for congress discourages responsible representation. It is a closed-list PR system; the voter must vote for a list made up by national party leaders. Candidates need not be residents of the department, and popular leaders often run in several departments to attract votes to the ticket. This system makes for "public cynicism. The elected official becomes responsible not to a particular group of people who elected him and whom he is supposed to represent, but to the party leader who put him on the list."[13] Although candidates play upon popular grievances, their reelection or elevation to higher office depends primarily on what faction they adhere to and how successfully that faction can exploit its support of or opposition to the government.

Once in office congressmen do not serve as channels between their constituents and the government. "Colombians find it something to be marveled at that individuals in the United States can write or call or wire their representatives in Congress to demand action on a bill, to lodge a complaint against an administrative official, or to request some similar action" (Dix, p. 174). Interest groups sometimes do lobby with congress, but their main focus is on the executive. Congressmen apparently are sensitive to generalized popular demands in the sense of being willing to vote for what they think will be electorally advantageous (Payne, pp. 254-255), but this is not the same thing as trying to represent the interests of a particular group of constituents on a continuing basis. The latter does not figure importantly in the electoral equation of the individual congressman and he does not perform this function.

Distribution Crisis.

Congress is not likely to be the most important factor in allocating values in Latin American political systems, but the republican tradition assigns it partial responsibility. And insofar as congress actually has influence on government policies, or provides or denies an avenue for those who seek certain benefits, it is involved in the distribution crisis.

Chile. The Chilean congress is clearly concerned with influencing the shape of government policies. Real negotiating takes place, within the congress and with the executive and outside interest groups. Many desirable laws have been passed. But the benefits have accrued disproportionately to the upper and middle classes, and to some degree to the organized upper fringe of the working class. Minimum salary legislation was passed twenty years before minimum wage laws.[14] The social security system is an expensive hodge-podge which nominally covers about 80 per cent of the workforce, but disproportionately benefits government workers and other middle-class groups (Gil, pp. 179-183). Large numbers of the lower class appear to benefit little if at all from government policies. Pike, after portraying the misery in which the Chilean lower classes live and the middle class-upper class indifference to these conditions, concludes that of the (then) 7,000,000 people in Chile, "more than 2,000,000 exist in a category that is somewhat similar to serfdom or slavery. Because of their situation they are themselves demoralized, and bereft of hope and vitality."[15] This condition cannot be credited entirely to congress, but the upper class and middle class control congress.

Colombia. It is clear from the foregoing that Colombian congressmen by and large are not interested in policy and have an erratic and limited influence on the distribution of benefits through government action. Congressmen do initiate bills for projects benefitting their districts, but they do not have the expertise, the staff, or most importantly the inclination to strongly and continuously influence the shape of major legislation, most of which emanates from the executive. When it comes to legislation which would bring about marked changes in how benefits are to be distributed--that is, genuine reform legislation--the role of congress is almost always obstructive. "The achievements of the National Front have been largely the consequence of executive initiative, with only the reluctant approval of Congress, as in the case of agrarian reform, or under the aegis of the president's extraordinary or state-of-seige powers" (Dix, p. 193).

In one rather unusual area of distribution, however, the Colombian congress may be more active and effective. As in most Latin American countries, the government is "the greatest industry, the greatest employer, the greatest educator, the greatest spender, and the greatest, if not the only, dispenser of glory" (Dix, p. 181). Pressure to obtain government posts and the status of empleado, as well as to control the distributive activities of the executive, has been one of the causes of the intense strife between the parties. The equal sharing of offices under the National Front was an attempt to reduce this strife. Congress's disputes with the executive often revolve around control of ministries. Congressmen "devote much of their time to securing bureaucratic posts for their friends or supporters."[16] But the distribution of government jobs can only benefit a small portion of the three-fourths of the population who are lower class and largely rural. And the most difficult distribution crisis arises out of the challenge of these groups.

Integration of the system as a whole.

Chile. Undoubtedly the Chilean congress has contributed to the integration of the system as a whole. All major interest groups have access and amendments and riders to executive bills satisfy some demands. The norms of the Senate soften conflict, and debates at least are an opportunity to air differences.[17] A tradition of democratic politics and a functioning congress has fostered in the public a political style that seeks changes through elections. Over the years spokesmen for new groups--first the middle class and more recently and to a limited degree the organized industrial workers--have been incorporated into the parliamentary process, and these groups have received tangible benefits from it.

The very success of the system in giving these elements a place may actually hinder total system integration, however. The Communist and Socialist party leaders have obtained benefits for the small upper stratum of unionized workers, but seveneighths of the workforce is not organized; by abandoning the unorganized urban and rural poor they have helped to increase the distance between the upper and lower elements of the working class.[18] The excluded group is very large; as we have noted, Pike estimates that two out of seven Chileans live in virtual serfdom. "Functionally speaking, then, the parliamentary process has served as a means for containing insurgent groups and perpetuating social rigidity. For the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties, it has provided a means for achieving social status and upward mobility. For a large sector of the lower class, the only means available for political action have been an occasional general strike, the dubious proposition of voting every six years, and a periodic street battle with the police" (Petras, p. 163).

Colombia. It is hard to see from the available evidence how the Colombian congress contributes greatly to the integration of the system as a whole. Its presence probably imparts some legitimacy. By serving as a mechanism for obtaining jobs or status for aspiring individuals it may relieve the system of some stress. Its activities no doubt benefit some organized interest groups. But in terms of integrating the mass of the population into the political process by providing them a voice and helping to distribute benefits the congress apparently does little. In fact, the parliamentary and electoral behavior of legislators may be decidedly unsettling. Intemperateness in debate may attract attention to the individual but it does not increase popular esteem for the congress. And when politicians do meet the public, the political style encourages even those who support the government in private to attack it in public because this is more profitable. Rather than narrowing the gap between citizen and government this may in fact widen it; Payne feels that the negative attitudes Colombians doubtless have about their government probably stem less from objective conditions than from the constant barrage of criticism that they hear from politicians (Payne, p. 310).

Conclusion

Chile and Colombia are not "typical," but these brief cases are instructive. They suggest that the impact of each legislature on its political system is rather complex, besides being different in two countries. Studies of other countries with viable legislatures, such as Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Venezuela would help to identify what characteristics are common to most countries and what are unique. Attention to these legislatures, as well as to those which once functioned (such as Brazil and Peru), might help us to understand more fully how legislatures contribute to the maintenance or destruction of would-be democratic systems. Even authoritarian regimes establish legislatures; these may be intended simply to legitimize the regime, but they may serve less apparent functions as well. Fortunately, more scholarly attention is now being devoted to legislatures than ever before, and perhaps we are entering a period of greater understanding of their true role in Latin American politics.

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert H. Dix, Colombia: The Political Dimensions of Change (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967) p. 191.

2. Ralph K. Huitt, "Legislatures," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (Crowell Collier and Macmillan, Inc., 1968) Vol. 9, p. 236.

3. Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966) pp. 62-67.

4. Weston H. Agor, "The Chilean Senate: Internal Distribution of Influence" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969); and Agor, "Senate: Integrative Role in Chile's Political Development," paper presented at the meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, New York, September 1969. James L. Payne, Patterns of Conflict in Colombia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968) especially chapter 11.

5. Agor, "Senate . . . ," passim; Agor, "The Chilean Senate . . . ," p. 49 and passim.

6. Federico G. Gil, The Political System of Chile (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966) pp. 118-119. Some of the information about the Chamber is included incidentally in Agor's writings.

7. Payne, p. 246. Most of the following information on the internal workings of the Colombian congress is from Payne, especially chapter 11.

8. James D. Cochrane, "The Chilean Senate: A Profile" (Mimeographed, n.d.) pp. 10-12, 25.

9. James Petras, Politics and Social Forces in Chilean Development (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) pp. 131, 162, 341-342, and passim.

10. Agor, "The Chilean Senate . . . ," pp. 39-40; 52.

11. Ronald H. McDonald, "Electoral Systems, Party Representation, and Political Change in Latin America," Western Political Quarterly XX (September, 1967) p. 704.

12. Agor, "The Chilean Senate . . . ," pp. 63-64.

13. Pat M. Holt, Colombia Today--and Tomorrow (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964) p. 64.

14. F. Stirton Weaver, "Growth Theory and Chile," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs XII (January, 1970) p. 59.

15. Frederick B. Pike, Chile and the United States, 1880-1962 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963) p. 292.

16. L. Vincent Padgett and Enrique Low Murta, "Colombia," in Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson, Political Forces in Latin America (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1968) p. 261.

17. Agor, "The Chilean Senate . . . ," Chapter VIII.

18. Petras, pp. 341, 163-164 and passim.

LATIN AMERICA'S BRAIN DRAIN*

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Migration from Latin American nations to the United States has not been large except in very recent years. Only Mexico has provided the American labor market with abundant and cheap labor for decades, particularly during the years of the Revolution (1910-1917) and during WWII. The rest of Latin America has contributed with significant numbers to the stream of migration only during the last two decades.

There is nothing extraordinary in this Latin American phenomenon when considering the attraction that the U.S. exerts on the peoples of the world as indicated by the country of origin of the migrants who enter the U.S. every year. What is significant is that a sizeable proportion of those who migrate to the U.S. are engaged in professional activities considered crucial for development.

The U.S. accepted as immigrants from all nations in the decade of the fifties 43,500 scientists and engineers and 10,000 physicians.[1] It is very probable that many more than 53,000 scientists, engineers and physicians have settled in this country during the sixties. Mills estimated that during the 1949-64 period 15,444 natural scientists, 44,283 engineers, and 24,754 physicians entered the U.S. as immigrants.[2] Using the figures for 1964 (the most recent available) as a standard, 17,540 natural scientists, 37,250 engineers, and 22,490 physicians may be permanently living in this country by mid-1970, a total of over 77,000.[3] At least 10,000 of these should have come from Latin America.

Many countries, particularly England, have attempted by various means to stop their brain drain with small success, or with no success at all, if the statistics are a measure. The United States has joined in this world effort realizing perhaps that what goes out in foreign aid returns increased in fat intellectual dividends.

Only three points related to the complex problem of migration of Latin American professionals to the U.S. will be discussed in this paper and these points, of course, will not be treated exhaustively. The points are: first, who migrates to the U.S. from Latin America. Second, from where in Latin America come these migrants and how many, and third, what are the reasons for their departure.

First, who migrates to the U.S. from Latin America.

The patterns of migration from Latin America have not changed significantly with the passing of the years in terms of the characteristics of the migrants. There has been a change in the number and type of professional personnel coming to the U.S. every year. Prior to the middle fifties, if the tabulations of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service are a gauge, the number of immigrating professionals was so small as to not make the statistics. Shortly thereafter the picture changed. These tabulatios list fifty-four different professional, technical and kindred types of occupational categories, two of which, professors and engineers, are subdivided into several others, making a total of about eighty entries. The list begins with accountants and ends with therapists and veterinarians, covering almost the full range of the alphabet.

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*This is a fairly modified and updated version of a paper read at the Third Annual U. of H. Conference on Latin America, spring 1969.

Some of these occupations have been considered extremely significant for economic growth, such as scientists and engineers; some are not so significant, such as actors and dancers. All in all, the statistics available indicate that close to 75,000 professional, technical and kindred workers migrated to the U.S. from 1958 to 1968 (each year ending June 30). Unfortunately, the breakdown of this total by individual profession is not available. In recent years, and judging from figures for 1961-1964 published by the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, there has been a tendency for engineers, physicians and teachers to migrate in increasing numbers, followed by nurses and accountants. The other occupations are thinly represented. To illustrate, Latin America loses around 500 physicians, over 500 nurses, and close to 600 engineers every year. The number of physicians, says the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, "is equal to the annual output of three large U.S. medical schools, It would cost at least $60 million to build three teaching medical centers, and more than $15 million a year to operate them. In these terms, the value of the physicians coming to the U.S. is roughly equal to that of all U.S. medical assistance to Latin America."[4]

Traditionally the Latin American university has been geared toward the production of lawyers, engineers, physicians, humanists, and teachers. One may even dare to say that all that Latin American universities have produced until very recent times has been humanists with some emphasis on law, engineering, medicine and some other disciplines of recent origins. An engineer, very much like a lawyer, is trained in such a manner as to be able to take whatever positions open up in industry or in government without exaggerated strain. His is a general education. Eventually he may specialize as a natural scientist.[5]

In a real sense there is a surplus of engineers in most countries of Latin America. Not that there are no needs; it is that there is a scarcity of opportunities, although this scarcity is, of course, entirely relative. The student engineers, as any other student in Latin America, soon realizes that income and any other rewards are not evenly distributed throughout the country or throughout the world. He will eventually leave the farm for the city and perhaps his country for a foreign land, preferably the U.S.A.

To this phenomenon the university contributes by raising the level of expectations of people already aroused by the prestige and privilege of having reached the peak of the educational ladder in societies where few can reach it. Many would attempt to migrate as students. There are around 10,000 university students from Latin America in the U.S. in a given year, one third of which are doing graduate work. An unknown amount of these students remain in this country.

Generalizing and judging from statistics for 1965 published by the National Science Foundation in 1968 the migrating professional from Latin America is likely to be a little bit older than his counterpart from Europe and Asia. He is in his thirties and early forties when he enters the U.S. And he is, as the European migrant, a male. Of the scientists and engineers admitted to the U.S. as immigrants in fiscal 1965 only eight percent were females. For comparison the percentages by regions follow: Asia 6.2, Europe 10.6, North and Central America 5.0 and South America 9.6*[6]

Some of these migrants are teacher-investigators. Losing them is particularly serious, says the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, "since these are the people responsible for expanding the future supply of professionals. The shortage of teacher-investigators (continues the Bureau) is illustrated by the situation in engineering and medicine. In all of Latin America, about 15,000 engineers devote some time to university teaching. Of these, however, only 2,000 are full time, even in the sense of spending a formal full work week at the university. A still smaller number devote themselves completely to academic work. Only 600 to 700 engineers in all of Latin America are engaged exclusively in academic teaching and research. In medicine the proportion of professionally trained persons who devote themselves completely to university teaching and research is a little larger, but not much. The proportion in science, however, is definitely higher.."*

Moreover, "the loss of highly talented leaders through migration cannot be measured by statistics, for a person with the extraordinary gifts of leadership is uniquely valuable and may be worth 10 or 100 persons who have a high degree of professional training but do not have these rare personal attributes. Every country has a small nucleus of persons with the combination of leadership qualities needed for establishing institutions and ensuring their growth, productivity, vitality, and stability."*

It would be interesting to know, one may add, not only how many teacher-investigators and persons with the extraordinary gifts of leadership have left Latin America but what their contributions are and how they fare in the adopted country.

Second, from where in Latin America come these migrants and how many.

In proportion to the size of the population Brazil exports the smallest number of professional, technical and kindred workers, and the Caribbean the largest, even excluding Cuba. This is particularly true of Haiti, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. In absolute figures, as indicated in Table I. the largest numbers - excluding again Cuba - come from Argentina, Mexico and Colombia, in that order. Large numbers (4,921) have come from the Caribbean islands. Cuba itself lost more than 23,000 during the ten year period especially beginning in 1961, although Cuba was the largest exporter of professional, technical and kindred workers, both in relative and in absolute figures, already in 1958.

On a year to year basis the flow of migratory persons in the category under consideration reached a peak, except for Cuba, in 1965, declined rather sharply in 1966 and 1967 and rose again in 1968, the last year for which figures are available. The peaks of year to year migrations vary of course for various countries. It was 1962 for Mexico and again 1967. It was 1964 for Argentina-an all time high of 1,045, and for Colombia (924). Little Jamaica lost large numbers. To wit, 1,357 in 1967 and 1,777 in 1968.

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*Italics in the original

For the period 1962-64 and to mention just a few professions, 151 engineers, 72 natural scientists and 23 social scientists migrated from Mexico, and 951 engineers, 356 natural scientists and 96 social scientists migrated from South America. Not great numbers they are when compared with the numbers of scientists and engineers departing from Europe (6,529) and Canada (3,460) during the same period. However, Europe and Canada are relatively developed whereas Latin America is relatively undeveloped.[7]

The outflow of professionals and kindred from Latin America receded a little for 1966 and 1967 and rose again in 1968 although in varying proportions for various countries. The all time high figure for Latin America given in Table I for 1968 can be misleading since the increase occurred mainly as a reflection of the climbing migration from Cuba and from Jamaica with heavy contributions from other West Indies and Colombia. The increase for Colombia was twofold in the last two years given in the table but was not too much higher than the figure for 1966.

Tables II and III are more difficult to analyze. It seems clear that more physicians tend to migrate than engineers. But whether the curve will continue on an upward swing for both does not appear clear. One might venture at guessing that this may be the case for physicians and surgeons but not for engineers for reasons to be discussed in the next section of this paper.

Both in absolute figures and in proportion to their populations the small countries of the Caribbean lose the largest numbers of professional and kindred (Table I) and of engineers and physicians and surgeons (Tables II and III).* Argentina and Colombia follow as poor seconds, although Colombia was ahead of Argentina in the total number of professionals lost in 1966 and again in 1968 as well as in engineers in 1966. In proportion to the size of their respective populations Brazil and perhaps Mexico lose very few professionals.

The Reasons for Migration

Little attention has been given to the reasons why Latin American professionals migrate to the United States. Gutierrez and Riquelme, the ones who have taken this matter in consideration, devote only a few paragraphs to motivation. Of the seven reasons they list for the Chilean professionals to migrate to the U.S. two are the most frequently mentioned, professional advancement and better remuneration. The others are: Greater recognition of technical and scientific work, wider opportunities for research, enhanced prestige upon return to Chile, family reasons and better prospects of finding employment, in that order.[8]

*The U.S. House of Representatives publications, on which Tables II and III are based, does not give separate figures for Cuba. It may not be an error to assume that the corresponding figures are included in the ones for the West Indies. It is interesting that this source gives information on the Dominican Republic and Haiti but ignores Cuba, listed next to Mexico in Table I, and Jamaica. Inconsistencies of this sort make analysis difficult.

The Pan American Health Organization in the document quoted earlier talks about the "push" and "pull" that gives rise to migration. The document distinguishes a "deliberate push" and an "unintentional push." An example of the former is a change in political regime that would force professionals in the opposition out of their countries. The "unintentional push" has many expressions, some of them applicable to all sort of migrants, some of them specific to the professionals. Of universal application are "the low level of economic opportunity, the direction of change and the absolute level of development, general political unrest and uncertainty as to the future, politics in the universities, low incomes, inflation, difficulty in getting ahead without political or family influence," and sometimes scarcity of housing. "Push" forces relevant to the professionals are "the part-time system and poor remuneration in the universities, difficulty in utilizing advanced training, problems in maintaining contact with the world community in their particular profession."

Likewise the "pull" has been characterized as "intentional" and "unintentional." The first type refers to "a number of private employers, including universities and research laboratories, in the United States (that) have deliberately offered positions to Latin Americans."[10] The "unintentional pull" refers to those attributes of the U.S. society that would match, by opposition, the defects that migrants have found in their native societies, such as economic opportunities, professional advancement, etc.

Although all these reasons deserve elaboration and some of them have been discussed by some investigators there are three points that remain implicit in writings on migrations of professionals from Latin America. I would like to treat these points briefly.

The first relates to the disjunctions or discontinuities of the various levels of Latin American educational systems with the exception perhaps of Uruguay. Primary education has been oriented toward the masses, peasants one may add, and for them is almost terminal. Only in three countries the illiteracy rates are equal to or lower than the illiteracy rate of the U.S. The countries are Cuba, Uruguay and Argentina. For the others the illiteracy rates range from 16 in Costa Rica and Chile to 68 and 69 in Guatemala and Ecuador and 89 in Haiti. Very seldom does a rural school take the child through the fifth grade in the direction of the secondary level.

Whereas in the U.S. grade school leads to high school without much trauma in Latin America entering secondary school is equivalent to a rite of passage. It has tremendous implications. To mention only one, the student realizes that he has become a memberofa privileged minority; again excepting Cuba, Uruguay and Argentina.

Obviously for the student who makes it the primary level is not terminal. He faces another form of disjunction or discontinuity that is very idiosyncratic to the system. He has to make a choice between various types of secondary schools most of which are terminal and for which the preparation in grade school may not be adequate. He could, of course, choose the one that leads to the university and the professions. But here the competition is terribly keen, and although brains and money help what often counts more is relatives and connections.

Even when entering the right school that would take him to the university the student will still find another form of discontinuity. It is that universities are often split in facultades that have no common denominators.[11] "They resemble separate ladders that lead separately to the top of the prestige structure. If one wishes to change ladder one has to start again at the bottom. The transfer of credits when they exist - and often they don't - is a practical impossibility.

A second point is the unstable, ambivalent and often contradictory character of the functions of secondary education and of the values on which they are predicated. Latin Americans have not found, it seems, and adequate solution to the fundamental dilemma of education for the individual and education for society. Only painfully and very recently have Latin American planners made up their minds in regard to industrialization in the urban centers and in the rural areas and in regard to the development of arts and crafts. The development of technical universities has been, excluding Chile, where is now a tradition, a rare phenomenon in Latin America. Still in the late sixties law and the humanities account for the largest university enrollments in practically all countries, and the highest value is placed on the traditional professions. Thus, secondary schools, other than the ones that lead to the university, are for lower class children or for those who have failed the liceos or the colegios de bachillerato. What Havighurst and Moreira have said in this respect about Brazil can easily be said about the rest of Latin America. "The traditional secondary school has the function of maintaining middle- and upper-class status, and working-class youth who wish to move up the social scale believe that such a course, if it is good for the elite of the society, will be useful to them in their effort to improve their social status. Also, in the near future, parents will want their eleven and twelve-year-old children to enter the academic secondary school because this will not commit them to an early decision about a career; they will be free to wait at least until the age of fifteen or sixteen before making a decision. Another consideration is that employers favor the humanistic, academic-type of secondary school on the ground that successful mastery of the curriculum indicates a "good mind" and good mental habits, and therefore is a good predictor of success on a job. And, finally, those who think of the possibility of attending a university will continue to choose an academic secondary school."[12,13]

The third and final point that I would like to discuss here refers to what I call the alienating character of Latin American education. And reference is made only to public education. Too often and too obviously private schools seem to be alienating such as military academies, seminaries, convents, etc. My concern is here with rural schools - more than half of Latin America is still rural - and universities, that are so distant from Latin American realities.[14]

The rural school offers courses that have no relevance to rural life and little reference to the rural community. The closest may be courses in history and geography. Nothing on farming, soil conservation or animal husbandry. When they are offered- and they are likely to appear in the secondary school - the technical level at which they are offered is so high above the day to day experience of the student that he finds no linkage between knowledge and its application. One may say that for the Latin American school and home are parallel not complementary. The child learns in school what his family cannot offer. He does not go to school to extend his knowledge. The school, in this view, is not any better than the home, is just different.

The university is even more alienating. Not only are the courses irrelevant in terms of Latin American realities; the technical skills acquired are much higher than the possible applications, and the textbooks probably in a foreign language. Now the whole atmosphere is permeated with prestige and power. Left behind are the millions who remain illiterate; the millions who hardly finished a primary education, and the millions for whom secondary schools were terminal..The outlook here is international. Professors travel abroad regularly and professors from abroad arrive with equal regularity. Soon one knows where to go for better knowledge, what social and political circles to enter and what territories to conquer. The village, the barrio, the community are things of the past, distant in memory and in status. In societies in which family relations count so heavily obviously opportunities are scarce and migration becomes the best alternative. To the alienating character of education have contributed the discontinuities and the internal contradictions of the system. At all levels of the structure and throughout the whole educational process you find the conflict between what the schools offer and the parents desire, between the ambitions of the students and the limitations of the economy, between private aims and public aspirations, between the local view and the international commitments, between the folkloric outlook of things and the cosmopolitan interpretations of reality. In this view the migrant is primarily an outcast in his own society.

3/23/70

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED, BY COUNTRY OR REGION, AND MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP: TABLE I

PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED WORKERS

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	TOTAL
Mexico	423	379	583	542	700	627	442	569	593	697	669	6,224
Cuba	750	552	772	1,511	2,483	1,419	2,250	2,406	2,134	3,252	5,523	23,052
Dominican Repub.*	---	---	---	---	353	454	251	303	463	270	230	2,324
Haiti*	---	---	---	---	223	302	306	497	353	307	669	2,557
Jamaica*	---	---	---	---	140	255	252	176	346	1,357	1,777	4,303
Other West Indies	485	542	587	794	237	249	262	303	364	213	885	4,921
Costa Rica*	---	---	---	---	99	141	199	196	99	69	105	908
El Salvador*	---	---	---	---	100	110	124	142	98	60	80	714
Guatemala*	---	---	---	---	88	129	129	144	143	89	135	857
Honduras*	---	---	---	---	95	132	176	184	114	59	85	845
Nicaragua*	---	---	---	---	55	63	82	71	54	42	26	393
Panama*	---	---	---	---	109	100	97	113	74	74	113	680
Other Cent. America	---	---	---	---	34	32	42	136	30	---	---	174
Central America*	537	452	492	531	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2,012
Argentina*	620	394	437	477	455	719	1,045	873	628	506	585	6,799
Bolivia*	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	161	105	96	92	454
Brazil*	---	142	166	149	186	243	281	370	268	191	228	2,224
Chile*	---	---	---	---	127	145	169	208	141	122	176	1,088
Colombia	414	334	340	355	455	631	924	799	723	392	729	6,096
Ecuador*	---	92	135	110	207	335	304	360	289	151	318	2,301
Peru*	---	133	220	172	183	267	311	191	145	132	151	1,905
Venezuela*	---	39	36	50	57	73	86	74	67	45	63	590
Other S. America	738	250	291	253	192	250	297	136	161	293	75	3,463
TOTAL	3,967	3,309	4,059	4,944	6,578	6,676	8,029	8,312	7,898	8,497	12,714	74,824

*Indicates data not given in the Reports for the years with no representative figures.

SOURCE: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports 1958, 9,60,61,62,63,64,65,66, 67,68, Table 8, pp. 32, 23, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, & 46, respectively

TABLE II

IMMIGRATION OF ENGINEERS FROM LATIN AMERICA INTO U.S. 1956 AND 1962-1966

	Pop 1966	1956	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	Total
Mexico		47	52	57	42	59	57	314
W. Indies		40	235	170	190	198	201	1034
ONA*		104(80)	94(43)	85(40)	81(40)	103(52)	65(38)	532
Argentina		71	59	96	122	88	59	495
Bolivia		10	7	4	13	10	7	51
Brazil		56	45	41	38	38	35	253
Chile		14	18	25	28	29	16	130
Colombia		30	41	48	65	71	85	340
Ecuador		8	11	13	17	13	8	70
Paraguay		0	1	1	1	1	3	7
Peru		30	23	35	35	16	13	152
Uruguay		0	1	5	5	6	8	25
Venezuela		20	55	52	35	24	23	209
OSA*		41	39	53	69	64	45	311
TOTAL		471	681	685	741	720	625	3923

*The figures in parenthesis may correspond to Canada. They have been included in the totals for Other North America.

**Other South America

Adapted: U.S. Immigrant and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports for the years indicated as published by U.S. House of Representatives in The Brain Drain into the U.S. of Scientists Engineers and Physicians, July, 1967, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 79, 67, 55, 43, 31, 19.

TABLE III

IMMIGRATION OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS FROM LATIN AMERICA INTO THE U.S. 1956 and 1962-1966

	Pop. 1966	1956	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	Total
Mexico		93	70	97	77	110	119	566
W. Indies		141	240	241	304	275	265	1466
ONA*		127(58)	102(65)	68(49)	88(51)	83(44)	78(49)	546
Argentina		37	94	116	151	140	115	653
Bolivia		2	5	9	24	28	19	87
Brazil		48	24	29	26	37	33	197
Chile		11	5	8	15	8	11	58
Colombia		15	75	90	158	82	80	500
Ecuador		12	6	15	10	13	23	79
Paraguay		0	7	4	6	2	6	25
Peru		26	43	22	32	25	46	194
Uruguay		0	1	2	2	1	7	13
Venezuela		6	38	27	24	10	11	116
OSA**		27	24	43	63	54	70	281
TOTAL		545	734	771	980	868	883	4781

*The figures in parenthesis may correspond to Canada. They have been included in the totals for Other North America.

**Other South America

Adapted: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports for the years indicated as published by the U. S. House of Representatives in The Brain Drain into the the U. S. of Scientists, Engineers and Physicians. July, 1967, Washington. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 89-77, 65, 53, 41, 29.

Footnotes

1. Gutierrez, Sergio and Jorge Riquelme, The Migration of High-Level Manpower: The Case of Chile, Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union, 1966, p. 6.

2. Mills, Thomas J., "Scientific Personnel and the Professions", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Sept. 1966, 367:33-42.

3. National Science Foundation, Scientists and Engineers from Abroad 1962-64, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

4. Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, Migration of Health Personnel, Scientists and Engineers from Latin America, Washington, D. C.: Pan-American Health Organization, 1966, p. 16.

5. Ibid. p. 20-21.

6. National Science Foundation, Reviews of Data on Science Resources, No. 13, March 1968, p. 9.

7. The figures for this paragraph are from National Science Foundation, Scientists and Engineers from Abroad, op. cit., p. 6.

8. Gutierrez and Riquelme, The Migration, op. cit., p. 30.

9. Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, Migration of Health Personnel, op. cit., p. 36-37.

10. Ibid. p. 40.

11. Molina, Fernando, Rector of the Catholic University of Valparaiso, as quoted in Land Tenure Center, Madison: University of Wisconsin, Sept., 1969 - Jan., 1970, No. 30, p. 21.

12. Havighurst, Robert J. and J. Roberts Moreira, Society and Education in Brazil, Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965, p. 195.

13. See also Solari, Aldo. "Secondary Education and the Development of Elites" in Seymours Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari, Elites in Latin America, New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 457-483, especially pages 474 and following.

14. As in 12 and 13, passim.

RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN CENTRAL AMERICA: THE CONFLICTING TRENDS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS*

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The great majority of the people of Latin America are rural folk who depend upon agriculture and the raising of livestock for their livelihoods. The social and economic development of this great world region depends to a large extent upon what happens among these rural people. This is particularly true in the Central American area where five relatively small countries are endeavoring to improve the conditions under which their farm people live and work.

This paper reports some of the findings of a study of the rural ecology or settlement patterns of Central America which constitute the framework within which any development must occur.1/ The empirical data employed are drawn from personal observation during ten months of travel and residence in the area (1963), together with the examination of large-scale topographic maps and aerial photographs, the study of census data and the review of published reports by others.

There are two basic patterns of settlement which are both theoretically and practically distinguishable. On the one hand there is residence directly on his farm acreage by the farm operator and his family. Since this means that families are separated from one another by their fields and pastures this form of settlement is referred to as "isolated farmsteads." The principal alternative to the scattered farmhouses is the practice of locating the homes of farm families in villages where they cluster nicely together, but where the farmer is separated from his land and has to commute to work. In lands where transportation is likely to be on foot rather than on a tractor these "agricultural villages" often cost heavily in reduced efficiency of farm management.

A third settlement pattern, the line village, combines many features of the village and the isolated farmstead. By dividing farmland into relatively long narrow tracts that have a common frontage on a road or stream and locating the houses of the different farms along this line a considerable concentration of people results. Social contacts and cooperative undertakings as well as closeness to many public facilities are made practical by this arrangement without requiring that people be removed physically from their farms.

Present-day patterns of settlement in Central America have not been studied comprehensively before.2/ Summarizing briefly, my conclusion is that the isolated farmstead is by far the most widespread type of settlement. The degree of actual isolation varies from region to region, depending upon the size of the farms. There are two principal circumstances in which agricultural villages are found, and these are most common in Guatemala and El Salvador, least frequent in Costa Rica. Most villages of genuine farmers in the region today are the remnant of patterns of clustered settlements established by Spanish colonial authorities, or in a few cases they spring from pre-Columbian Indian towns. Village-like settlements are also found on the plantations or haciendas of the region, but these are clusters of houses for laborers or sharecroppers and so are not genuine farm villages. The line village as a mode of arranging the sociocultural landscape is very sparsely represented in Central America.

Historically the aboriginal pattern in Central America was mostly that of isolated settlement, although the use of fire agriculture meant that frequently the house and the tract currently being farmed were not physically together. Here as elsewhere in Latin America, Spanish colonial policy for centuries encouraged the development of the village in place of scattered residences, principally for its advantages in social control over the people. However, even prior to the coming of independence in Central America there was a very strong trend toward living on ones property in the countryside, and this movement has continued to the present time. Throughout the region isolated farmsteads are springing up in the remaining frontier or pioneer areas, and the predominance of this form of settlement is probably increasing.

Government policies generally have promoted the scattered arrangement since titles to public land usually are gained by "homesteading" provisions that require residence on the lot to be claimed. The intent was to assure that the public domain was being alienated to genuine farmers and not to land speculators.[3/] More recently a shift of policy has been occurring. The demand for developmental programs such as schools, cooperatives and so forth is very strong and the cost of providing these to persons who are widely scattered across the landscape is very high. Therefore, although the laws for the alienation of public land still allow individuals the right to settle on their own initiative, public policy is to work for village centers combined with outlying farmland to which the farmer must commute. The early agrarian reform colony of Los Laureles in Nicaragua is an example of this approach. So also are many "colonies" in Costa Rica and El Salvador.[4/]

Neither the older encouragement of isolated farms or the new and limited effort to promote villages provides the most effective social and economic situation for families settling on newly-created farms. From the perspective of the farmer and his family and also from that of the government responsible for providing services, the line village may be preferable. Access to the tracts would be improved, and all sorts of social contact would be fostered. Nevertheless, only Guatemala was effectively trying to implement this pattern. By employing a long-lot form of subdivision in most of its "Zones of Agrarian Transformation" the line village was encouraged. None of the countries was working to create a spontaneous line village arrangement in the frontier areas.

It has been shown that a very large proportion of the farm operators actually dwell on their land in an isolated pattern of settlement, while in certain areas there are true farm villages or towns, and occasionally the line village is found. Historically the trend has been from the village to isolated settlement over the past 300 years. In spontaneous settlements that are occurring along the present-day pioneer fringes, the trend is to continue the scattering of homes indiscriminately across the countryside. On the other hand, the official efforts at sponsored settlement are tending more and more toward the nucleated settlement in which each settler has a house plot separate from the farmland. The motivation is to achieve the most economical provision of desirable public services, and to encourage the formation of cooperative organizations among farmers. Only one significant effort was found in which official policy was oriented toward the division of land in a manner promoting the line village with its many advantages.

Some of the implications of the present trends and policies are fairly obvious. The governments concerned are all relatively poor with regard to funds for development efforts, yet their people are experiencing the rising expectations of a "new day dawning." These governments must deliver a reasonable share of the expectations if severe turmoil is to be avoided, yet the cost of providing services to multitudes of widely scattered farmers is much greater than the treasuries can afford, even with foreign aid in large doses.

At the prodding of foreign aid administrators but with understandable willingness on the part of local officials also, the policy of promoting village forms of settlement has been adopted quite widely. Since this is the most economical setting in which to provide adequate schools, health centers, extension offices, agricultural cooperatives, credit agencies, marketing programs, water systems and the host of other desirable improvements the choice seems obvious. Nevertheless, in most of Central America the "natural" mode of living is on the land being farmed, and there is likely to be a great deal of cultural resistance to an unfamiliar pattern even when it has some demonstrable advantages for everyone involved. Numerous instances can be expected of new land beneficiaries moving out of their village houses and into secondary dwellings on the land in spite of the highly-valued improvements in the population center.

The line village, which has been little appreciated in Central America, offers a reasonable compromise. Its use almost assures acceptance by the typical Central American farmer of limited means, and it affords the farmer access to the most critical aspects of modernization without costing him the farm management problems of being separated from his land.

I would personally like to see this form of settlement given wide testing in the several agrarian reform programs. But my observation and that of several others (Pearson, 1963, and Hildebrand, 1963, for example) is that many of the elements of "integral" colonization or settlement programs could be reduced in importance in order to reach the most people with the most critical elements. In my judgment these would be education, agricultural extension and supervised agricultural credit. On a line village basis these would not require much greater investments to be made by the government than in the true agricultural village, and should have great economic as well as political payoff. In short, it appears to this investigator that the positive values of the line village have been neglected, both in planned settlement and in spontaneous frontier homesteading. In both situations it could offer an economical framework for social and agricultural development.

FOOTNOTES

*The author acknowledges grateful appreciation to the Doherty Foundation for a fellowship which partially supported the field study, and to the National Science Foundation for additional assistance. This paper is a contribution to Texas Agricultural Experiment Station project 1702: "Land Tenure Patterns."

1. A large study of rural social organization of the region, from which this paper draws heavily, is found in my doctoral dissertation. See William Kennedy Upham, "A Sociological Analysis of Man-Land Relations in Central America" (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1969).

2. For a review of previous studies see ibid.

3. See, for example, the "Ley de Cabezas de Familia" of Costa Rica: Decreto No. 3 dated November 17, 1909, and its sequel, No. 137, dated October 2, 1924.

4. Some of the laws exemplifying this approach are the following: Costa Rican legislative decree No. 29 (December 3, 1934) and No. 2825 (October 14, 1961); Honduran decree No. 2 (September 29, 1962); and Nicaraguan decree No. 797 (April 19, 1963).

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES THAT AFFECT ENTREPREUNURAL DECISION-MAKING OF FARM OPERATORS

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Agricultural entrepreneurs in the United States and Canada are characterized as individual or family operations that currently produce meat, food, and fiber most efficiently and in great quantities. These operations, relying on technology and industrial development, are highly mechanized, require large monetary investment per unit, and strive toward economies of scale. Farms today are truly commercial enterprises and farm operators must continuously make decisions that affect their personal and entrepreneural survival.

Farm operators frequently make decisions pertaining to farm operations which appear to lack sound and logical reasons. Some decisions are based on personal reasons or emotional factors while other decisions are judged to be rash. One author points out that when attempts are made to describe how decisions should be made, exhortations are given that managers ought to be "rational" -- that they should put aside their personal feelings and emotions and base decisions on the facts of the situation.[1]

The concept of "economic man" has often been substituted for "rational man." According to classical economic theory a unit of economic decision is said to act rationally when its objective is the maximization of a magnitude.[2] Because this investigation is concerned with rationality, the "maximization of a magnitude" will be restricted to monetary profit. This restriction will enable the application of a rationality index to be used for purposes of categorizing farm operators.

It is the intention of this paper to categorize farm operators on a rationality continuum and then investigate the relationship between selected independent variables and rationality of farm operators. Six social and economic variables were selected to serve as independent variables: age, education, farm tenure (years of residence on present farm), gross income (average for past three years), farm size (acres in cultivation), and leisure time.

RESEARCH SETTING

Data were obtained through interviews conducted from a standardized field schedule and administered to 101 farm operators in the Northern High Plains of Texas during January and February, 1969. These respondents comprised a random and representative sample of farm operators in the following Texas counties: Dallam, Hansford, Moore, and Sherman; all north of the Canadian River.

An examination of general characteristics of agriculture in the Northern High Plains of Texas reveals that the farms are large (mean of about 1,700 acres), the principle crop enterprises are wheat and grain sorghum (along with some type of cattle operation), and about one-half of all farmers irrigate.

Six independent variables, characteristics of the 101 respondents, were selected: educational attainment, gross income, age, number of years on present farm, number of acres in cultivation, and number of day of leisure time taken. (The means for these variables for the 101 respondents are presented in Appendix A.)

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

If it is postulated that the primary objective of management decision-making is economic gain and that the goal of economic gain is an indicator of rationality, a scale consisting of statements referring to various farming situations affecting economic gain can be used in an instrument to measure rationality.

Eight items from the schedule were designed to allow each respondent an opportunity to depict how he would react to various farming situations concerning his operation.

These items are as follows:

1. Could you have used credit more profitably last year?
2. Does variation in the price of wheat influence your decision to harvest wheat?
3. Does variation in the price of grain sorghum influence your decision to plant grain sorghum.
4. Would you give up some of your income to gain more freedom in farming?
5. Would you sacrifice some of your time off to expand your farm operation?
6. Do you consider your time-off when deciding upon changes in farming?
7. Suppose that if you have very little time-off your income would be high, but if you have a lot of time-off your income would be low. Where would you place yourself on the following continuum.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
   More Income More time-off
8. In reference to your farming, what is more important to you -- economic return or way of life.

The scoring technique used for the scale involved assigning to the response alternatives for each statement the values of one and five. The value of five indicated a positive response toward economic gain, while the value of one indicated a negative response toward economic gain. Item analysis was used to determine internal consistency of the scale, all eight statements had a discriminatory power greater than 0.50, thus they were retained in the attitude scale. It should be cautioned that this scale was designed to measure the attitudes of a specific group and should be interpreted as a relative rather than an absolute scale for measuring rationality.

FINDINGS

For each individual the sum total of the statements contained in the scale was used as an indicator of that individual's attitude toward economic gain. However, the number was used to indicate order and not interval. For example, a respondent with a sum total of twenty-five had a more positive attitude toward economic gain than a respondent with a sum total of twenty-four, but how much more positive is not known.

To determine the relationship between rationality and the selected independent variables the farm operators were divided on the basis of their rationality scores into "low," "moderate," and "high" categories. This method of assigning farm operators to each category was accomplished by placing the rationality scores in an array from lowest to highest. Then the third of the farm operators with lowest scores were categorized as low, the farm operators in the next third were categorized as moderate and the farm operators in the highest level as high.

Chi-square tests of significance at the .05 level were used to determine the likelihood that relationships found between individual socioeconomic variables and economic rationality would have been found among the entire population of the area.

The relationship between leisure time and economic rationality was significant at the .02 level. The remaining independent variables and the chi-square results (probability of a greater value) are as follows: Years on present farm, .20; age, .30; educational attainment, .30; gross income, .50; and acres in cultivation, .50.

Findings from this study tend to support existing theory which suggests that since money is the basis for many goals for people of all types and social levels, it is not likely that the attitude toward profit will vary according to the differences in social and economic status.

To reiterate, only leisure time was found to be significantly related to rationality. This relationship was found to be inverse. That is, farm operators who have little leisure time have high rationality scores. One suggested explanation for this inverse relationship is the conflict that may exist between the two. The farm operators who do not place as much value on economic gain will probably devote less time to farming operations than the farm operators who value economic gain. Furthermore, the farm operators who value leisure time more than economic gain will usually make decision which will not hinder their leisure time activities.

Product moment correlation coefficients were computed for the independent variables to determine the magnitude of relationships between them. Coefficients of determination were also computed to determine the amount of variation that was being explained by the relationship of one independent variable to another.

Age was significantly related to education, years on present farm, and leisure time; while farm tenure was significantly related to leisure time. The coefficients of determination were all less than .12 which indicates that although statistically significant relationships do exist between some of the independent variables, these relationships are not conclusive.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study tend to substanciate the postulate that since money is the basis for many goals for people of all types and social levels, it is not likely that the attitude toward profit will vary according to the differences in social and economic status. There were no significant relationships found to exist between the dependent variable, rationality, and the independent variables age, education, gross income, farm tenure, and size of farm.

There was a significant relationship between rationality and the desire for leisure time. This particular finding suggests that the necessity for the maximization of profits does not exist for all persons. The entrepreneur can satisfy desires other than the desire for profit. One of these is the desire for leisure. Therefore, the farm operator who aims at raising his standard of living will probably be prone to relax his efforts when he meets with success because he may feel that leisure-time participation is an essential ingredient of a good life.

The theoretical contributions of this paper are as follows: First, the independent variables age, educational attainment, gross income, and size of farm do not have a statistically significant relationship with economic rationality and should not be considered as statistical indicators of economic rationality. Second, farm tenure, though not having a statistically significant relationship with economic rationality, appears to be an influential factor in determining economic rationality. Third, leisure time is a causal factor in determining objectives of farm operators. Fourth, although computation of correlation coefficients indicated that statistically significant relationships exist between age, education, farm tenure, and leisure time and also between gross income and size of farm; these relationships may not be theoretically meaningful.

FOOTNOTES

1. M.D. Richards and P.S. Greenlaw, Management Decision Making (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc.).

2. O. Lange, "The Scope and Methods of Economics," Review of Economic Studies, 13 (1945-1946) pp. 19-32.

Appendix A

Mean Characteristics of 101 Respondents
Texas Northern High Plains Study

Characteristic	Mean
Educational attainment	11.8 years
Gross income	70,000 dollars
Age	47.5 years
Farm tenure	17.6 years
Farm size	1,759 acres in cultivation
Leisure time taken	69 days

RECREATIONAL USER ACTIVITY RELATED TO EXPRESSED SOCIAL ATTITUDES AT SAM RAYBURN RESERVOIR

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the relationship between the type of acitivity a user was pursuing at a major recreation site and certain of the user's expressed attitudes. The value of the study adds to the body of knowledge relating to attitude, or value, studies of Natural Resources and to the Sociology of Leisure. Limitations of the study are that it is applicable to the people using a particular recreational area; and is even futher limited to those interviewed.

This study follows the work of Burdge,[1] Hendee, Steinburn, and Catton,[2] Ingman,[3] Hines,[4] Burch,[5] and Bultena.[6] It might best be termed a second generation exploratory study as the scales are ones which have been previously developed and standarized but not applied to this particular locale and type of problem.

DEFINITIONS

Leisure Orientation refers to a respondent's position on the leisure orientation attitude scale developed by Burdge.[7]

Wilderness orientation refers to the respondent's position on a wildernism-urbanism attitude scale developed by Hendee, Steinburn, and Catton.[8]

Political-economic orientation refers to the respondent's position on a political-economic attitude scale modified from work by Adorno, et al.[9]

SAMPLE AND METHODOLOGY

The sample studied consisted of 203 heads of household that were contacted by the interviewers at six camp grounds in the Lake Sam Rayburn recreational area. A minimum of thirty respondents were interviewed at 11 campgrounds. There were 194 males and nine females interviewed. Due to the type of study, the sampling is best described as causal, as obtaining enough respondents to insure statistical reliability necessitated interviewing all who would consent. The data were collected through the use of an interview schedule.

HYPOTHESES

Following the typology suggested by Zetterberg, a general hypothesis was established. This hypothesis is that there would be a significant difference in expressed attitudes (leisure, wilderness orientation and political-economic) according to the primary use of the area. To test this hypothesis three specific hypotheses were established. They are:

1) There will be a significant difference between respondent's use (camping, fishing, or combination) and their expressed attitudes concerning leisure orientation.

2) There will be a significant difference between respondent's use and their expressed attitudes concerning wilderness orientation.

3) There will be a significant difference between respondent's use and their expressed attitudes concerning political-economic orientation.

Table 1

Type of Use vs. Leisure Orientation

	Leisure Orientation			
Type of use	Anti-leisure*	Neutral	Pro-leisure	Total
Camping	0	19	38	57
Fishing	1	15	20	36
Combination	0	33	75	108
Total	1	67	133	201

*Anti-leisure and neutral groups combined in X^2 computations; df-5; X^2=1.334 P 0.05; not significant.

Hypothesis 1 states that there will be a significant difference between respondent's use and their expressed attitudes concerning leisure orientation. Table 1 shows a X^2 value of 1.334 which is not significant at the 0.05 level. Therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

Table 2

Type of Use vs. Wilderness Orientation

	Wilderness Orientation			
Type of use	Low	Medium	High	Total
Camping	0	41	16	57
Fishing	1	32	4	37
Combination	0	0	18	109
Total	1	73	38	N-203

Low and medium groups combined in X^2 computations; df-5; X^2-5.85; P 0.05; not significant.

Table 3

Type of Use vs. Political-Economic Attitudes

	Political-Economic Attitudes			
Type of Use	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal*	Total
Camping	41	16	0	57
Fishing	22	14	1	37
Combination	84	25	0	109
Total	147	55	1	N-203

*Liberal and moderate group combined in X^2 computations; df-5 X^2-4.26 P 0.05; not significant.

Hypothesis 3 states that there will be a significant difference between respondent's use and their expressed attitudes concerning leisure orientation. Table 3 shows a X^2 value of 4.26 which is not significant at the 0.05 level. Therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis brings forth a single conclusion. This being, at least in relation to the users of recreation area studied, that there is no significant difference in attitude according to use. Specifically, the campers, fishermen, and combination users all have the same general attitude patterns. In addition, it can be seen that few users are strongly anti-leisure, low in wilderness orientation, or liberal in political orientation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rabel Burdge, *The Development of a Leisure Orientation Scale* Columbus, Ohio: Unpublished M.S. thesis, The Ohio State University, 1961.
2. John C. Hendee, Thomas H. Steinburn, and William R. Catton, Jr., "Wildernism - The Development, Dimensions and Use of an Attitude Scale," paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological meeting, San Francisco, California, August, 1967.
3. Stanley R. Ingman, *Private Outdoor Recreation Development: Factors Associated with Adoption*, (Columbus, Ohio: Unpublished M.S. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1963).
4. Larry E. Hines, *The Relationship of Traditional Values to Outdoor Recreational Behavior*, (Columbus, Ohio: Unpublished M.S. thesis, The Ohio State University, 1963).
5. William R. Burch, Jr., *A Plan for an Exploratory Study to Test Variables Associated with Leisure Activity Choice, Commitment, and Persistence*, (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Form Fs-62. Mimeograph publication, 1962).
6. Gordon L. Bultena, "Recreation Research and Forestry Policy," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, California, August, 1967.

7. Burdge, Ibid.
8. Hendee, Steinburn, and Catton, Ibid.
9. T.W. Adorno *The Authoritarian Personality*, (New York, Harper and Row, 1950) pp.163-165.

THE RURAL URBAN DIFFERENTIAL AND EXPRESSED ATTITUDES CONCERNING DEVELOPMENT OF THE BEAR RIVER

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to investigate the rural-urban differential in relation to expressed attitudes concerning water resource development. The specific areas studied were the portions of Utah and Idaho contigeous to the Bear River and the city of Ogden, Utah - which is the nearest large community (population 70,197 in 1960) to the Bear River's course.

This area has been previously studied in relation to water resource related attitudes.[1*] This research project was designed to expand knowledge concerning the Bear River as well as to add to the general body of sociological knowledge.

The authors are well aware of the on-going dispute about the validty of rural-urban difference and the study of them. However, as there is a very definite difference in the non-culinary uses of water, it becomes of great importance to the developer to have knowledge concerning possible attitude differences between the rural and urban sectors.

The group being studied consisted of a random sampled population of 1095. The data was colledted by field interview utilizing an interview schedule.

DEFINITIONS

For the purposes of this paper the following working definitions are used:

Rural: Rural is based upon a taxonomy using type of use as its criteria? Rural water use in this case relates to irrigation. The rural area investigated consisted of parts of two Utah and three Idaho counties which had, in general, an agricultural orientation.

Urban: Urban is based upon an industrial-commerical related water use. The urban area studied was Ogden and its primary orientation is industrial, shipping, and commerical in nature.

Water Rights: Water rights is used in its most general manner, that understood by the respondents to mean their rights to water. Since both states involved in the study have basically the same water rights, the phrase may also be interpreted as meaning appropriative water rights.[3]

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*These studies as well as the current one being reported have been made under the auspice of the Center for Water Resource Research at Utah State University, Logan, Utah. The funding was provided by CWRR-11 from the Office of the Water Resources Research, U.S. Department of Interior.

Attitude: Attitude is defined as ". . .a person's preference for one or another side of a controversial matter in the public domain. . . ."[4] This term is used interchangeably with expressed value and value.[5]

THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS

In reviewing the literature concerning the existence of rural-urban differences in relation to water use we found no directly appicable references. However, through inference for other studeis concerning the same Mormon sub-culture being studied we find that the rural-urban differential is not as pronounced as in other areas.[6] The legal references to the water rights inferes that there is a primary right given to irrigation.[7] In addition, the Mormon pattern of irrigation that occurs both in the urban areas as well as the rural areas would indicate that there is little or no rural-urban difference in relation to water use.[8] This is supported by Smith who states that "it is apparent that, . .Mormons are remarkably similar whereever they are found."[9] These observations are not in line with the traditional rural-urban differences but this does not prevent testing the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis I: There will be no significant rural-urban differential when the choice of water use is between industry and irrigation. The highest priority will be given to irrigation use.

Hypothesis II: There will be no significant rural-urban differentials when the choice of water use is between irrigation and recreation. Both groups will favor irrigation use to a much greater extent than recreation use.

Hypothesis III: There will be no significant rural-urban differential when the choice of water use control is between public or private sectors. Both groups will favor public control.[*]

Hypothesis IV: There will be no significant rural-urban differential concerning proposed water development where rights are guaranteed. Both groups will strongly favor development.

ANALYSIS

Table 1 show the priority of use between irrigation and industry. As was hypothesised (Hypothesis I) there is no significant difference between the rural and urban dwellers. In addition, the hypothesised strong favoring of irrigation exists. The hypothesis is not rejected.

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[*] Beneficial use of property and resources has been a very strong doctrine among the Mormons and non-use has resulted in termination of rights by the governing body. Brigham Young made this policy very definite by stating: "There shall be no private ownership of. . .streams. . .nor timber . . .(for) these belong to the people. . .[10]

Table 1

Irrigation vs. Industry

Residence	Priority of Water Use							
	Industry		Irrigation		Joint & Other		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Urban	9	4.6	176	90.8	9	4.6	194	100.0
Rural	45	5.1	792	89.3	50	5.6	887	100.0
Total	54		968		59		1081	

No answer responses 14, Chi-square=0.445, df=2, p-0.80

Table 2 shows the priority of use between irrigation and recreation. Hypothesis II indicated no significant difference. This is rejected as the probability level of 0.001 indicates the difference is significant. The second part of the hypothesis is accepted as both groups do favor irrigation to a greater extent even though at different amounts.

Table 2

Irrigation vs. Recreation

Residence	Priority of Use							
	Irrigation		Recreation		Joint & Other		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Urban	176	90.7	5	2.6	13	6.7	194	100.00
Rural	841	96.0	14	1.6	21	2.4	876	100.0
Total		186.7	19		34		1070	

No answer responses = 25, Chi-square=10.584, df=2, p=0.001

Table 3 shows the residence compared to private or public control of water. Hypothesis III says there will not be significant difference between the rural and urban groups. This is rejected on the basis of a probability of 0.001. The second part of the hypothesis is accepted as both sectors highly favored public control of water.

Table 3

Private vs. Public Control

Residence	Type of Control							
	Public		Private		Joint & Other		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Urban	178	91.7	12	6.2	4	2.1	194	100.0
Rural	716	80.4	116	13.2	59	6.6	891	100.0
Total	894		128		63		1085	

No answer responses = 10, Chi-square=23.516, df=2, P=0.001

Table 4 shows the residence compared to the proposed development a specific water project with rights guaranteed. Hypothesis IV says there will be no significant difference as the probability of a difference is 0.001. This part of the hypothesis is rejected. The second portion of the hypothesis is accepted as both the rural and urban groups favor development by a large majority. However, the 16.9% of the rural group not favoring the development may be construed to be of much greater importance because the rural group will be much greater effected by the proposed development than the urban group.

Table 4

Water Development with Guaranteed Rights

Residence	In Favor		Against		Don't Know		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Urban	103	88.0	1	0.9	13	11.7	117	100.0
Rural	505	69.0	119	16.3	107	14.7	730	100.0
Total	607		120		120		847	

No answer responses = 248 (Including ones with no knowledge of the project)
Chi-square=22.953, df=2, P=0.001.

SUMMARY

From the analysis it was found that there were significant rural-urban differences in relation to priority of use concerning recreation vs. irrigation, private vs. public control, and favorability towards development of a specific project. No significant difference was found relating to irrigation vs. industrial use. On the basis of the four tested hypotheses the general hypothesis-which stated there would be no difference between the rural and urban groups - is rejected.

Secondary hypotheses indicated that certain patterns of desirability would be found and all were supported. These showed that: irrigation use takes priority over industry and recreation; public control is favored over private control; and the specific proposed project is favored.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis brings forth one general conclusion. This is that there is a significant rural-urban differential in this particular sub-culture in relation to water development. In addition, it is evident that the urban portion of the population is more in favor of change. This is signified by their much stronger desire for the proposed project - even though it is much closer related to and of much greater benefit for the rural group. The overall pattern of responses, even with the significant differences shown, leads the researcher to believe that the sub-culture studied is very homogenous whether rural or urban.

FOOTNOTES

1. Wade H. Andrews and James L. Gillings, "Some Factors Affecting Social Change in Water Resources," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociology Society, San Francisco, California, August, 1967.
2. Charles T. Stewart Jr., "The Rural-Urban Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses," American Journal of Sociology 64 (September, 1958).
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6. Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) p.87.
7. Wells A. Hutchins and Dallin W. Jensen, The Utah Law of Water Rights (Salt Lake City, State of Utah, 1965) p. 121.
8. O'Dea, Ibid., p.87.
9. Wilford E. Smith, The Urban Threat to Mormon Norms," Rural Sociology 34 (December, 1959) p.359.
10. Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) p.52.

A SOCIOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF PUPIL'S CUMULATIVE RECORDS AS A TOOL FOR IMPROVED TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

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INTRODUCTION

This report on cumulative records for pupils in the Dallas Independent School District was prepared during a summer appointment as a member of the staff of the Institute of Urban Studies at UTA, and it is one phase of a larger study.

The purpose of the larger study by the Institute of Urban Studies was to be of assistance to the Dallas school system in the development of its project known as EMIS (Educational Management Information System). This effort was undertaken in association with the subcommittee on Educational Management Information System of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce which commissioned the study. The goal was to explore the development of an Educational Management Information System as a tool of management for the Dallas school system. The study was broken down into component parts of which this report is one.

The objective of this particular report was specifically to evaluate the cumulative record maintained on each student in the school system. The purpose of the cumulative record is to give a summary of the student's growth toward social, emotional, physical, and intellectual maturity during his school years. It provides data for understanding a student's potential and his progress as well as the strong and weak points of his behavior and capabilities. When used at its maximum effectiveness, the cumulative record becomes a most comprehensive collection of information about the student and provides the necessary tool for the teachers and administrative staff to achieve the ideal educational goal of individualized instruction.

Presently the Dallas school system is using what may be termed an "abbreviated form of cumulative record" titled the Pupil's Cumulative Record. The information accumulated is compiled and used by teachers, counselors, nurses, and principals. The Pupil's Cumulative Record in conjunction with two other records, that of the Health Record maintained by nurses and the Counselor's Information Sheet used by counselors, makes up what may be termed the cumulative record system now in use in the Dallas Independent School District. The information, however, though available, is not coordinated in one record.

METHODOLOGY

The technique of personally interviewing representative school personnel throughout the entire school system was utilized in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the Dallas school system usage of their cumulative records. A total of seventy-one personal interviews were conducted and included administrators, principals, intern principals, counselors, nurses and teachers. All areas of the Dallas Independent School District were represented, and interviews took place in the following areas: Oak Cliff, Inner City, North Dallas, East Dallas, Pleasant Grove, South Dallas, and West Dallas. Further consideration was given to three other factors:

1. Interviews were conducted among selected samples so as to represent all socio-economic levels - i.e. upper, middle, and lower.
2. Interviews took place at elementary, junior high, and senior high schools.
3. The interviews also included a series of questions to determine the attitudes and recommendations of the respondents.

FINDINGS

Teachers utilize the present Pupil's Cumulative Record and may obtain from it broad generalized information, such as achievement test scores, I.Q. scores, some generalized family background data, and grades. However, there is no section on the cumulative record devoted to an analysis of the student and his personality, or his strong and weak points. For example, nothing is said about one's talent, potential, ability, or tendencies. In examining the records, it was found that a note section which could possibly be used for this prupose was seldom utilized. Since the note section implies "unusual behavioral conditions", many pertinent factors in a student's behavior are not recorded merely because the teacher does not consider them "unusual". The consensus of the teachers took cognizance of the fact that for the vast average group it would be valuable to record information about them also, but none have done so. Failure to do so ranged from lack of time and inaccessibility of records, to fear of incorporating subjective feelings into factual reporting. It was felt by many teachers that subjective reporting might be interpreted by others at a later time in a negative fashion and might be damaging to the student.

The Counselors, on the other hand, in junior and high school do record pertinent information about the student on the Counselor's Information Sheet, but this is a separate record which is kept in the academic counselor's office and it is not part of the Pupil's Cumulative Record. The Pupil's Cumulative Record is used primarily only on the elementary school level. The teachers in junior and high school can refer to the Counselor's Information Sheet but seldom do so except in cases of unusual behavior.

This study revealed that a large majority of teachers do not regularly review their students' records as a matter of routine. Only at the beginning of the year and when a problem arises do the majority of teachers resort to the records. Counselors, on the other hand, regularly review students' records and utilize every part on which there are written reports. They indicated that they wished teachers would use every section of the Pupil's Cumulative Record so that they, as counselors, might render a greater service to students.

The majority of respondents believed that it is possible to utilize the Pupil's Cumulative Record in a more complete fashion than is presently being done. Some recommendations on how this may be done will be presented in the concluding part of this report. The vast majority of teachers, counselors, and administrators felt that a brief summary should be written on the Pupil's Cumulative Record about each student at the end of the semester. Only fifty percent of the principals and intern principals concurred. Also, the majority of the respondents, except for the principals, believed that additional records would be valuable, such as autobiographical information. The principals felt that the teachers should make better use of the records that are currently available. There is, therefore, a different opinion between the principals and the other groups in the interpretation of the records and how many are needed. If this is a representation of a basic difference in opinion and outlook, then closer communication between all groups is indicated in order to bring about a consensus regarding the Pupil's Cumulative Record.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents believed that if the Pupil's Cumulative Record was kept active through high school, it would benefit students in helping them plan their professional or vocational careers. If enough information was recorded and maintained about the student, including his talents, vocational abilities, and interests, it would be possible to more effectively counsel him toward a fulfilling and rewarding career.

Virtually everyone interviewed favored counselors for elementary schools and a larger number of counselors for junior high and high schools.

One of the questions asked of the teachers was, "what part of the Pupil's Cumulative Record is most valuable to you?" Responses varied; but the majority felt that the section of the record in which the objective test data is recorded is the most necessary and valuable to maintain. Several of the teachers stressed the importance of the IQ score. While there was a very small minority who recognized, in theory, the importance of the entire record and all its sections, they, along with the majority, did not record anecdotal history or note unusual behavior patterns. Authorities today express their professional opinion that anecdotal history is crucial to the understanding of the whole child. Most teachers bring to the classroom life experiences very different from those of the families whose children they teach. Appropriate perception of reasonable objectives and expectations should be understood. The teacher must become aware of the child's whole life, including all aspects which contribute to his success or failure in school. With this understanding, the teacher can work more effectively with the problems of children. However, emphasis in Dallas, as elsewhere in the country, is placed upon achievement and IQ scores. Many maintain that these tests, when used as an end in themselves, may not accurately measure the ability of students. Many factors enter into the grades themselves: the student's reaction under pressure; conditions under which he takes the test; the middle class orientation of the test; and the teacher's own evaluation of the test process. Therefore, it might be well for teachers to consider many properties that affect a student's learning, and not unduly emphasize a single property, such as IQ or achievement test scores.

Most respondents recognized the need to maintain a complete record, and while this is not currently being done, the question arose as to how the records could be better utilized. Comments and suggestions were volunteered and can be classified into three basic responses:

1. Communication-it was felt that the principals of each school should have periodic orientation meetings with teachers and other staff members stressing the importance of the Pupil's Cumulative Record and the proper use of it.

2. In-service training - sessions should be held and devoted to workshops dealing with the Pupil's Cumulative Record and how to interpret the data thereon. It was even felt by many that this training should be while the teacher is still in college, and courses need to be devoted to the importance and proper use of the cumulative records.

3. Accessibility of records - in this respect there was found an interesting variation. While all desired easy accessibility, there was a difference of opinion as to what was "accessible". The teachers were evenly divided - half wanting records kept in the classroom and the other half preferring the principal's office or some other central location. Objections of those who opposed keeping them in the classroom were centered around the fact that the confidential nature of the records would be compromised and many might get lost. The objections to a central location were that failure to have records at close proximity would lead to procrastination, or the school staff using the records might omit information because of intervening events.

An administrator, in seeking to bridge these two points of view, suggested that teachers could keep a separate informal record on each student in their rooms and make progressive notations, transcribing them in condensed fashion at the end of the semester onto the Pupil's Cumulative Record. His feeling was that the Pupil's Cumulative Record should be a continuous report of a student's progress and development. The report could then be utilized in better understanding the student and as a ready reference for parental conferences. The objection to his idea was threefold:

1. Additional time required in an already crowded schedule
2. Unnecessary to write comments about the "average" student
3. Would contribute to an ever increasing amount of paper work

A suggestion which seemed generally acceptable to the majority of teachers and counselors for implementing a more comprehensive Pupil's Cumulative Record was that of a "supplemental data" pocket. At the end of each semester the teacher would summarize his students' progress and behavioral development. These summarizations, instead of being written on the Pupil's Cumulative Record form itself, would be inserted within a pocket of the Pupil's Cumulative Record labeled "supplemental data". This pocket could be reviewed periodically and any information which would no longer be pertinent to the student could be eliminated. The aim of this idea was to protect the student. It was recognized that possibly some teachers might have a personality clash with a student and not give an objective picture of the situation; others might be biased or prejudiced, in spite of themselves. If, however, over a period of several years the teachers' summaries noted similar traits a behavior pattern would have been established and these summaries could remain in the record. In this way isolated incidents that might be recorded could be eliminated, and subjectivity held in the highest possible control.

The importance of cumulative records in Dallas is succinctly summed up in the following statement by a top administrator of the Dallas Independent School District:

> Every principal and every administrator views the Pupil's Cumulative Record as basic and a must. In fact, many decisions are made around it, such as academic awards, scholarship, and mental health. The Pupil's Cumulative Record helps the school personnel relate to individualization of learning. However, much of the information is kept supplementary and inserted loosely inside the Pupil's Cumulative Record. This process results in the loss of data when transferred to another school and discarded by the receiving school. A major reason for the discarding of this material is that the schools receive the data at their busiest time and it is examined in haste. Therefore, the information becomes fragmented, and we cannot see the 'whole child'.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Certain recommendations have resulted from the interview process, the interviewer's observations, and the respondents' suggestions:

1. Creation of an overall constructive, positive attitude toward the Pupil's Cumulative Record and recognition of its importance by all personnel. This may be accomplished through orientation meetings, in-service training, and better communication between all levels of the school system. The principal of the school has the key in this undertaking.

2. Teachers of subjects such as physical education, music, art, and home economics should be encouraged to examine the Pupil's Cumulative Record and make comments on it, in order to better understand their students and to contribute to the student's record.

3. Qualified counselors are needed on the elementary school level to work with teachers, students, and parents. One of the main reasons is that by the time the student gets to high school it may be too late to help him, as his behavioral patterns are already set.

4. The Dallas Independent School District should have a research project designed to find out how records are being used and to establish pilot programs to determine the effectiveness of alternate uses of the Pupil's Cumulative Records. Models should be set up and the best one adopted.

5. The Pupil's Cumulative Record form when sent to junior high no longer plays a decisive role for the student because Counselor's Information Sheets are utilized instead. It is suggested that a new Pupil's Cumulative Record form is needed in the shape of a booklet in which all data about the student may be assembled and made a part of one record. This would include the Nurses' Health Card, Counselor's Information Sheets, and all information regarding the student's physical and mental development. There should be enough space to record anecdotal history, unusual abilities, outside interest, extra-curricula activities, and all other information to properly evaluate the physical, emotional,social, and intellectual growth of the student. This booklet, starting in the first grade and continuing through the twelfth grade, could serve as a valuable information repository.

6. Many teachers in their remarks about students reflect their own subjective individual reactions in evaluating students. Therefore, it may be a good idea to consider setting up a basic rating scale by which school personnel could evaluate students behavioral traits and areas of personality development. This would permit an objective basis to serve as a comparison and provide a common denominator for all teachers, thus providing a continuum of pupil behavior. This rating scale would be a section of the new Pupil's Cumulative Record form suggested above.

7. In the senior year there needs to be a summarization made on each student to identify his strengths and weaknesses in various areas, such as physical, academic, psychological, as well as his vocational abilities. The Pupil's Cumulative Record can serve as the basic tool for this summarization. The ultimate purpose would be to direct students into a rewarding career, whether professional or vocational. Not only the student would benefit from this, but the community as well. Specifically, other education institutions could make use of this information in guidance, counseling, and orientation toward major fields of study.

CONCLUSION

The proper maintenance and use of cumulative records is particularly important in today's schools. The average student will have at least forty-five different teachers from the time he enters school until he has graduated from college. If his family moves frequently, as so many do, this number will be even greater. This movement of students from school to school is to be expected in an urban-industrial society. Therefore, under this condition, contacts between pupil and teacher are often of short duration. Teachers must have some assistance in working with students. A good cumulative record can be one of their most valuable tools.

POPULATION GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING WITHIN SOUTHWESTERN METROPOLITAN AREAS

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Although large cities are performing services necessary for the function of an urban-industrial society, not every city performs the same functions. Studies in the fields of urban sociology, ecology, and urban geography have documented the relationships between size and functional specialization; however, the relationships between population growth and diversification within particular regions have not been studied extensively. Cities have been placed into categories representing different types and degrees of specialization, although the classification system has often been only a methodological tool. Howard Nelson states that it is in the analysis of cities with similar services that classification is primarily valuable, although little use has been made of classification systems. He suggests that categories of cities might be compared and analyzed in terms of rates of population growth.[1] An empirical investigation of population growth, functional specialization, and diversification would better enable us to study the dynamics of urbanization patterns within the United States or its component regions.

In order to study the relationships between population growth and functional specialization, a classification system must be used which utilizes data in order to determine the degree of specialization. One procedure would be to use labor force composition, as the proportion of a city's labor force engaged in a particular service is perhaps the best means of measuring the distribution of that activity and comparing it with other areas and times. The classification of central cities in the Southwest used in this study is that of Nelson.[2] This classification system analyzes the proportion of nine major economic activities--manufacturing, retail trade, professional service, transportation and communication, personal service, public administration, wholesale trade, finance, and mining. The proportion of each of a city's labor force in each of these activities is compared with all other cities and standard deviations from the mean are calculated. Based upon this procedure, a city may be specialized in more than one activity. Nelson's classification also allows one to determine the degree of specialization, as a large number of standard deviation units indicates specialization; cities which do not rank high in any activity are categorized as "diversified."

The primary purpose of the present study is to describe and analyze the relationships between size, growth, and degree and type of specialization within Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) of the Southwest between 1950 and 1960. The central cities of thirty-three SMSAs in the West South Central Division are studied and the classifications of Nelson are used to describe the degree and type of functional specialization of each city.[3] Each central city is also classified according to 1950 size--small (under 100,000), medium (100,000-499,999), large (500,000 or more).

Specialization in economic activity is related to size. The predominant forms of specialization of large central cities are financial, transportation, and wholesale trade activities; for medium sized central cities, retail trade and public administration; for small central cities, manufacturing and mining. Diversified cities are concentrated in the two smallest size categories.

These findings support the findings of Albert Reiss that financial and manufacturing communities represent two contrasting types of cities with different morphologies. Financial cities have substantial excess of all types of white-collar workers, particularly male managerial and office workers. Extremes of education, income and occupation are more apparent in this type of city and the rates of mobility tend to be higher than in manufacturing cities. He further concludes that "almost every aspect of a community's structure is related to its basic functions. . . . Differences among the functionally specialized types of communities are found with respect to age and sex structure, mobility rates, labor force participation, education attainment, industrial and occupational composition, income and home ownership."[4] His findings dealing with financial and manufacturing cities suggest that these two types of communities have different morphological features, as well as different relationships to size, a finding of this study.

If these types of cities represent distinctive structures, the relationship between population growth and type of community might also be studied in order to analyze the dynamics of urbanization.[5] Between 1950 and 1960, financial central cities in the Southwest experienced greater growth (77 percent) than manufacturing cities (34 percent). Higher percentages of growth were particularly characteristic of large central cities. Growth of these cities was closely related to specialization in wholesale trade and transportation, indicating dominance over surrounding hinterlands; whereas, diversified and manufacturing cities grew less rapidly and were less likely to have other types of specializations. In the future it is expected that metropolitan areas with financial central cities will experience even greater rates of population growth.

To study relationships between population growth and functional specialization, coefficients of correlations were computed between per cent of growth and per cent of the labor force engaged in the dominant economic activities. These analyses indicated that financial and manufacturing activities again exhibited divergent patterns. Higher correlation coefficients were found between population growth and financial (r=+.73) than between population growth and manufacturing activities (r=+.48); other correlation coefficients were between these two values.

As cities increased in size, they tended to become more specialized. The highest values of standard deviation units occurred in large central cities, particularly those classified as "financial." Perhaps these cities become more important as regional centers of finance and commerce; whereas manufacturing and diversified cities are limited in size by their dependence upon local areas and available natural resources. It is hypothesized that as these cities increase in size (if they do) they will become more specialized in different types of functions. Specialization in mining or manufacturing and diversification may place limitations on population growth. These findings indicate that the traditional ways of viewing "city-building" and "city-serving" functions have to be re-examined and evaluated. Urban sociologists have tended to view manufacturing and mining as "city-building" functions; retail trade and associated specializations as "city-serving."[6] Findings from this study indicate the opposite pattern. Manufacturing and mining activities may be functional specializations of smaller cities; whereas retail trade, commercial functions may be "city-building," attracting population to the city.

Functional specialization also seems to be related to growth of the area around the central city. Within the regions studied, SMSAs with central cities specializing in financial activities were surrounded with rings which grew more rapidly than the rings of other types of central cities. Ring population of mining cities exhibited the lowest rates of population growth during the decade. The degree of specialization also was related to growth of the ring; central cities with high degrees of specialization were surrounded with rings which were growing more rapidly than those around cities with lower degrees of functional specialization. In all analyses, the types of specializations which demonstrated divergent patterns were finance and manufacturing-mining.

The findings of this study suggest that functional specialization, particularly certain types of specialization, is related to population size, growth of the central city and ring, and degrees of diversification. Analyses of cities in other regions and at later points of time may yield results which should aid the urban planner, as well as the urban sociologist and human ecologist.

FOOTNOTES

1. Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," Economic Geography 31 (July 1955) pp. 189-210.

2. Ibid.

3. The following cities were [illegible]uded in the study: Fort Smith, Little Rock, and Pine Bluff in Arkansas; Baton [illegible]e, Lafayette, Lake Charles, Monroe, New Orleans, and Shreveport in Louisiana; Lawto[illegible]klahoma City, and Tulsa in Oklahoma; Abilene, Amarillo, Austin, Beaumont, Brownsville, Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Galveston, Houston, Laredo, Lubbock, Midland, Odessa, San Angelo, San Antonio, Texarkana, Tyler, Waco, and Wichita Fallas in Texas. These cities were chosen as they represent central cities of SMSAs, based upon 1965 Bureau of the Census data.

4. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Functional Specialization of Cities" in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Cities and Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957) p. 574.

5. Howard J. Nelson, Ibid.

6. James A. Quinn, Urban Sociology (New York: American Book Company, 1955) p. 60.

THE VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT:
A STUDY IN SMALL TOWN SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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What constitutes a voluntary fire department? How does it function? What are the structural linkages in the pattern of social integration? These are the key questions which this study attempts to answer. In a general sense this study is an attempt to describe the intricate pattern of action, attitudes and values of the twenty-five men who comprise the voluntary fire department of a small city. The emphasis here is on the social relations and social structuring of the organization and its relationship to the community rather than to the technical aspects of fire fighting. Reference is made to technical fire fighting only as it influences status and occupational position. The organization is referred to here as AFD and it exists for one reason--the probability and danger of fires in the community.[1]

Data for this study were gathered over a three month period in 1969. The writer requested permission to attend the AFD meetings which are held each Monday night. Thus, several techniques of observation are employed here along with a formal questionnaire which all members completed. The questions which were asked the volunteers were arranged in such a way as to follow the writer to test the following hypotheses:

(1) that the AFD is a quasi-military organization.
(2) that blue collar workers, the majority of the volunteers, exhibit stronger traits of community responsibility than the white collar workers.
(3) that the AFD is a type of fraternal order.[2]

These assumptions are all correct. Some mention will be made below of slight variations or deviations from the established norms. One explanation for the blue collar over the white collar pattern of dominance is that blue collar workers will attend the regular meetings and will become familiar both with the fire fighting equipment and with their particular assignment or function. White collar workers are reluctant to do this. They claim that they are too busy, that they have no time for such meetings. About the best that they can do is to march (usually on horseback) in the annual Christmas Parade or some such similar event.

Existing literature concerning voluntary fire departments is somewhat limited. Apparently, this type of organization has received little priority as compared to the study of police bureaucracies as well as other municipal services. Again, sociologists have been prone to study and to report on social pathology in the community at the expense of explaining social organization in the community. Among factors that have been studied is the origin of one volunteer fire company.[3]

Several studies pertain to volunteer fire associations only in a most remote sense.[4] One assumption as noted here is that work is a prime life experience which has some significant implications for participation in voluntary associations. In this particular study such variables as "mental-manual" activity, colleague control, bureaucratic control, formal contact, informal contact, leadership and isolation were closely studied.[5]

The AFD, an all-white racial group, is divided into four basic companies each with its own "captain" who, in turn, answers to the "chief." Each "company" has its own "truck" or "rig". There are, then, three fire fighting vehicles ranging from a 1937 model used only in emergencies up to a current special built vehicle which cost the city upwards of $50,000. There is one "emergency" vehicle, an old funeral hearse, which is used for drownings on rivers and lakes as well as for other contingent disasters.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of the AFD is that they are "equipment oriented". The men can tell you how many gallons per minute are pumped into a firehose as well as the capacities and tolerances of all apparatus associated with this type of work. AFD workers meet each Monday night for an hour or longer. These meetings may be concerned with discussing a new-type pump, making arrangements for attending "fire-stream school" in a near-by city, jumping off of the roof of the fire station into a safety net, discussing a future fire drill for the AFD, or talking about dragging the river looking for bodies.

All members of the AFD are married.[6] The age range is between 24-68 with over half below 40 years of age. The majority have at least 12 grades of schooling with 21% reporting "some college" and 4% indicating that they are college graduates.[7] The majority of the members have children. Most popular sized families include two or three children. Great stability is noted for length of residence and time on the job. Over 90% of the group have lived in or near the community for 10 years or longer and about 60% have had their present job for this same period of time. Annual income exceeds $8,000 on the average for AFD members. Most members are in favor of "sex education" for their children, desire college educations for them, and admit that they would have desired to continue their own education if it had been possible. This is a favorite subject of conversation.

Gifts of money from property owners and members of deceased via drowning are used either for new equipment or for frequent social events. Members are fined who miss or who come late to meetings. Steak dinners are favorite events with the members. Such dinners may be held at a local restaurant or the members may cook the steaks and serve them to their families in the fire station.

There are three full time AFD members who wear blue uniforms and who rotate a sleep-in schedule so that there are always two members on duty. Fire alarms are sounded by the police station next door. All members have alarms at home. The full time men drive the fire trucks to the scene of the holocaust. AFD members arrive in their automobiles. The rule is that the oldest member in point of service is "in charge" until the Captains arrive or until the Chief is available. The Chief is frequently out of town.

Eleven members were in the Army and four in the Navy. Only 5 admitted to seeing combat. Rank varied from seaman to master sargeant. The Chief holds the commission of brigadier general in the Army Reserves. Length of service ranged from 4 months to 29 years. By job classification blue collar workers outnumber white collar workers by more than 2 to 1. Hunting and fishing were the most popular hobbies indicated, but some members liked wood carving, gardening, collecting Indian relics, and fixing up old cars.

The majority of the members claimed that they had been born on a farm and had attended rural schools. Most members owned some property, usually their own home, and all members owned either automobiles or pick-up trucks or both. Practically all volunteers claimed to be members of a church but less than half indicated regular church attendance.

Occupations included the following: "water works", "bread salesman", "assistant postmaster", "welder", "construction worker", "electrician", "plumber", "salesman", "insurance agent", "carpenter", "automechanic", "electric utility trouble-shooter", and "retired". Some men had two jobs. Some do a small amount of farming in addition to holding a full time job.

Most members claimed that they liked the community and felt that by joining AFD they were in a position to perform a public service. One member indicated: "I feel that our city has a friendly atmosphere and a great potential for growth." Another stated: "We have good schools, good city government, not so good industries."

Meetings are the best place to observe social integration and to experience the "lodge hall" characteristics within AFD. The following is taken from the writer's field notes:

"A lot of laughs and jokes when some men crawled up on the roof to jump. Best jumpers were men who were slim and agile. After net was put away meeting became something of a bull session. They asked a lot of questions about my new car...they are beginning to treat me as one of them...meeting dismissed promptly at 8:30 p.m."

Belonging to AFD, however, is no laughing matter. The volunteers are proud of their organization; they exhibit a high morale and sense of belonging. They also like to tell you about their length of service and about other members of their family who have served on AFD. When there is a drill or "staged fire" so that they may get in their minimum time on actual fire control conditions the whole family usually comes out in picnic fashion. Wives will be carrying the babies while older boys and girls slosh through the water.[8] The AFD volunteer is expected to exhibit a high moral code and to accept responsibility in the community.[9] He is best able to do this by "serving" his community through AFD. Sentiments and values center largely around past fires and community disasters. One member may ask another: "Do you remember when that oil truck caught fire over by the city dump?" Members within close hearing range will contribute their version of where they were and what they were doing that night before the fire. This sense of belonging and collective identification with the community is strongly maintained. It is also reinforced by means of common expectations for the future based on the perpetual war on fires and community disasters.

TABLE I

How AFD Members Feel About
Sex Education, Redlight District, and Alcoholic Beverages

	A		B		C	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Strongly Favor	4	17	5	21	6	26
Mildly Favor	4	21	1	4	1	4
Favor	4	21	1	4	2	8
Disfavor	1	4	0	0	2	8
Strongly Disfavor	8	34	16	69	12	52

A = Sex Education

B = Red Light District in cities of 10,000 or more

C = Alcoholic Beverages served to 18 year olds and over

TABLE II

Magazines Read By AFD Members

Magazine	F	%
Bass	1	4
Field and Stream	1	4
Outdoor Life	2	8
Sports Illustrated	5	21
U.S. News & World Report	1	4
World Report	1	4
Reader's Digest	2	8
Saturday Evening Post	1	4
Playboy	1	4
Popular Science	1	4
Model Plane	1	4

FOOTNOTES

1. AFD answered 72 alarms in 1968. Fire loss was placed at $95,000. Of this number 12 were grass fires, 15 were automobile fires, 31 were house fires, 8 were commercial fires and 6 were false alarms. As reported in the *Arkansas Gazette* of April 9, 1969.

2. In addition to the usual qualifications of age, marital status, race (this is an all-white organization), occupation, and place of birth, the important question usually raised for new members was: "Will he help us or will he hurt us?"

3. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town In Mass Society* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books - Doubleday & Co., 1960) p. 26. These authors point out the following: "The fire companies originated as free associations of fire-fighting volunteers in the days when fire fighting was a manual affair. The two companies came into existence because the village creek at one time prevented reliable and quick movement from one end of town to the other."

Frederick A. Bushee, "Social Organization in a Small City", *American Journal of Sociology* 51 (November, 1945) pp. 218-226; Robert Hagedorn and Sandford Labovitz, "Occupational Characteristics and Participation in Voluntary Associations", *Social Forces* 47 (September, 1968) pp. 16-27; David Horton Smith, "A Psychological Model of Individual Participation in Formal Voluntary Organizations", *American Journal of Sociology* 72 (November, 1966) pp. 16-27.

5. Robert Hagedorn and Sandford Labovitz, op.cit.

6. This compares to 69.1 percent of married males as reported in the 1960 Census.

7. Thirteen per cent indicated that they had also attended trade school.

8. When these fires are staged volunteer companies from neighboring towns usually participate. In some cases this may be a modified dump truck with a three man crew. In one instance the crew was integrated with one white driver, obviously the "captain", and two Negro firemen.

9. AFD members are proud of their city but have a tendency to downgrade others. Camden is considered a "mean town" and El Dorado is known as a "honky tonk" town.

TOWARD A SOCIOLOGY OF THE IDEAL CITY

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Urban planners have a long tradition of ideal city proposals. To an urban planner, an ideal city design like Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City" is the rough equivalent of a sociologist's ideal type such as Weber's bureaucratic model, both in its use for theory building and for teaching. In recent years, urban planning has become such a vigorous contributor to urban scholarship that urban sociologists are finding a knowledge of planning theory essential for their own work. In view of this trend, planning theorist Thomas Reiner has suggested that one of the best ways to get to know planners is by their ideal cities since they provide vivid insights into the discipline's unique philosophical and architectural orientation.[1]

Following Riener's suggestion, we find ideal city designers frequently make assumptions about sociological phenomonae; thus, a common ground is easily established. It is noteworthy that seeing the importance of these assumptions to the success of the plan also heightens our own appreciation of sociological theories. Correspondingly, the authors have employed ideal cities in teaching sociology classes with good results. Moreover, by examining the social context leading up to the proposal to see which problems are singled out for elimination and which good qualities of life are given high priority, we practice an informal, but highly interesting, sociology of knowledge. The purpose of this paper, however, is merely to demonstrate the worthiness of ideal cities as objects of general sociological attention.

Four proposals were chosen as representative of the rich variety of ideal cities to be found in the planning literature. Analysis shows they generally follow the same form. First, the good life is described and compared to existing urban life. Then, the changes needed to bring about the good life are explained. Finally, a new city which incorporates these changes is described, usually in terms of land uses, design of elements required for housing, transportation, and production, and the organization required to make all of the elements work together.

Garden Cities of To-Morrow[2] (Ebenezer Howard, 1898)

Although he intended his proposal to have general applicability, the focus of the study was contemporary London to which Howard attributed the bad characteristics of: high rents and prices; high unemployment, expensive drainage and foul air; long distances from work; excessive hours; slums and gin palaces; absence of nature; and overcrowding. Yet Howard was no simple country escapist, for he pointed out corresponding shortcomings of country life: lack of society; hands out of work; intolerance; long hours and low wages; lack of drainage; lack of amusement; no public spirit; crowded dwellings; and deserted villages. Howard's idea of the good life was to combine the good points of city and country. Good points of city life were: social interaction; variety of amusement; high wages, chances of employment; well-lit streets; and "palatial edifices". Good points of country life were: beauty of nature; fresh air; low rents; abundance of water; and bright sunshine. Man was seen as being amenable to cooperation, though this condition may have to be fostered, since man is also highly individualistic. The right synthesis of country and city would accomplish this, thought Howard, but it would require starting from scratch because London was hopeless for the time being. A stay in the midwestern United

States where he had seen new towns being created almost before his eyes further had convinced him that completely planned new towns were possible. Howard seems not to have relied on other town planners, but his proposal shows an awareness of contemporary movements in England aimed at: preventing unearned increment (profit from increased land values owing to concentration of population on it); land nationalization; systematic overseas colonization; and the suggestion by economist Alfred Marshal that London's population could be reduced by moving whole neighborhoods as a unit to the country.[3]

The now widely misunderstood Garden City Howard described was meant only as an experimental prototype unit for an eventual system of towns of 32,000 population, wherein each town would be equipped for full economic and social life and there would be a highly developed sense of community. All land was to be owned by the city and leased back to the residents and proprietors. Unearned increment from other land uses would go back to the city and be used for construction, maintenance, and paying off the land cost. This use of profits would lighten the tax load, thereby increasing relative wages and lowering the cost of living. By carefully planning the industries which would locate in Garden City, full employment and a balanced economy would be insured. The city was to be built in one effort, completely planned, and there was no provision for change except by starting another new town.

Howard must be given credit for designing a city which shows no glaring inconsistencies. Indeed, Louis Mumford thinks the Garden City ranks along with the airplane highest among all 20th century inventions.[4] The fact that two Garden Cities were built from Howard's formula and still exist (Welwyn and Letchworth, both in England) is further proof of the proposal's reasoning. However, the Garden City concept has never been the roaring world-wide success Howard had hoped for. As to why, one wonders if a sociological explanation might be valid. For example, one of the intangible aspects of city life stems from the attachment of sentiments through symbolism to a specific location. Had he simply been aware of the ecological importance of sentiments and symbolism (an awareness that did not even come to sociology until almost 50 years later)[5] he might have recognized the problems of removing 32,000 persons from an established city and plopping them down on land for which they had no particular sentimental attachment.

Regardless, it should be apparent that Howard had much more than the physical nature of the city in mind when he designed Garden City. In fact, if as one of his principal biographers F. J. Osbourn, contends, Howard thought of himself as a sociologist, we should *claim* him immediately.[6]

Broadacre City[7] (Frank Lloyd Wright, 1932)

Wright's proposal shows little concern for the work of other planners or recognition of other ideal cities, although he, like Howard, leaned heavily on the notion that unearned increment is the curse of modern urban society. However, above all, the idea of the agrarian life as the only basis for democracy and individuality was the central principle guiding Wright. To Wright, life in modern American cities was too fast-paced, overbureaucratized, too vicarious, uncultured, saturated by interaction based on the rent concept, and dominated by conformism. Broadacre was to avoid population concentration and its attendant restrictions by providing each person with his own acreage, which was his birthright. Tilling the soil was, to Wright, one of the pleasures of life men needed to experience directly, and frequently. Wright had a life-long fascination with relationships between soil, building, and man, and it is this relationship which his organic architecture attempted to make "natural". Broadacre City was his attempt to apply a principle which had been highly successful with single buildings to a much wider scale.

The key to Broadacre was decentralization. Recognizing that decentralization was unfeasible unless transportation could be made more efficient, Wright placed great emphasis on a system of specially-designed super highways and a new type of automobile to travel them at high speeds. Transportation efficiency was to be further augmented by a new helicopter designed by Wright to be used for personal transport over longer total distances. Interregional transportation was to be by rail and truck. Wright argued that decentralization made sense in Broadacre, what with electricity, the car, mass-produced household artifacts and new, prefabricated building materials.

Low density residential areas are grouped in close relation to agricultural land. Big industry is decentralized among the residential areas. Industries which could not be made to fit into the organic architectural style of the city were to be put underground! Coordination of all of these elements was to be carried out by a highly questionable combination of planning (by architects) and a sort of primitive neighborhood market where goods and money would be exchanged. Here, his cavalier disregard for the economic and cultural advantages of agglomerations must be questioned. Did Wright understand how the urban economy worked? One also wonders about the administrative problems arising from a virtually endless and basically patternless city where feelings of community would have no focus.[8] Nevertheless, few ideal city proposals show more clearly the basic relationships between social life and the physical environment.

The Radiant City[9] (Le Corbusier, 1933)

In much the same way one envisions a Phoenix rising from the ashes of its own destruction, Le Corbusier posited "The Radiant City" as a reintegration of the physical and social forces which had suffered "the consequences of machine-age evolution". He regarded the sprawling suburbs of Paris as a blatant falsification of the "garden city" concept and as a catalyst for man's total reliance on the automobile. He saw in the central core necropolis-come-to-life --insensitive to human needs and the demands of technology and sustained by civic authorities romantically clinging to the last ounce of architecture that was Roman. To regroup the vital forces of an urban existence "The Radiant City" would organically develop itself within the context of physical and social environments properly fitted to human scale.

The sprawling growth of the urban area would be radically halted by piling the city and its three million inhabitants on top of itself. While the resulting super-densities, which were far in excess of traditional standards, might superficially have suggested an increased congestion, the dictates for land use, the circulatory system, and physical structures were set so as to promote a new human scale. No longer was man to be forced to subjugate his need for human involvement to the fatigue of machine interaction. Transportation between the separated business, residential and industrial areas was to be by automobiles traveling on elevated roadways designed for high speed traffic without cross traffic intersections (a problem which also concerned Wright). Movement within each area emphasized pedestrian traffic over both covered and exposed walk-ways through natural open-space areas. A patterned arrangement of business and residential skyscrapers promoted equal distribution of the surroundings' natural greenery and exposure to light. Tenants of the skyscrapers were assured privacy against circulation in and about the ground floor level by the use of elevated bases which would provide covered recreational and nature areas.

The production of these pre-fabricated structures received the primary attention of industrial resources. Accordingly, other forms of production would occasionally be halted or shifted to meet market demands. Just as a pre-fabricated form of technology implies some limitation of certain craft, trade, and operative endeavors, the production of useless articles designed for conspicious consumption would be eliminated. The internal environment of the structures would be mathematically (and parsimoniously) dictated to serve the individual in his daily activity. No longer a slave to articles of consumption designed to feed individual greed and status consciousness, man would adjust to the concept of "equipment"rather than furniture and a minimum of space, and would render a higher regard for natural beauty and exposure to light than for some personal exposure of social position.

By contemporary standards, Le Corbusier's Radiant City speaks to the very problems of the present urban condition. The sprawl of suburban development squanders hours of individual existence to a form of mechanical competition to and from a congested and sterile central city. Man's near total dependence upon the products of technology's advancement has rendered him frustrated in a game of acquisition, as LeCorbusier foresaw.

The plan Le Corbusier offered some thirty-five years ago has found more than just a limited acceptance. Massive housing developments in Manhattan and other world cities reflect Le Corbusier's concept of the "super-block" and Brazilia stands as an almost literal statement of his principles of design. But from a sociological perspective certain weaknesses in the plan are evident. Features concerning the manipulation of the economy, the nature of political authority, and the social directives and implications of the proposal either require some rather naive assumptions or are left completely up to the reader. To us, the plan calls for levels of technology and social organization which are incompatible.

Ecumenopolis[10] (1961) - Constantinos Doxiadis

Unlike the works of Howard, Wright, and LeCorbusier, "Ecumenopolis" finds its genesis in a perspective far broader than a London, Manhattan, or a Paris. Doxiadis goes beyond a contemporary point in time to the twenty-first century to reveal the age of "Ecumenopolis," the world-wide city. As the world population approaches twenty to fifty billion the natural growth of megalopoli throughout the world will have culminated in a pattern of interconnected networks of cities, limited only by natural geographical constraints.

The megalopolistic character of growth will supercede patterns of concentric growth and transform the city into a "dynapolis," constantly following its own natural development and leaving a wake of deteriorated city behind, open to redevelopment, but without the sense of urgency and problems associated with the rebuilding of facilities in constant use.

Natural geographical boundaries will limit the development of cities beyond a human scale. The fundamental community will contain no more than fifty thousand people. The planes and rockets of the twenty-first century will carry man over longer distances between cities, but he will rely upon pedestrian transportation within his city, except for hurried subterranian trips in personal bubbles. All mechanical transportation between and within cities will be automatically recorded and charged against the individual's "transportation account", including violations and accidents.

Single-family houses and multistory apartments will dot each community, but always with an eye toward privacy. Houses will be surrounded by high walls, enclosing courtyards, tennis courts, pools, or gardens. The apartments, suggestive of Le Corbusier's terraces and roof gardens, will house full communities of stores, kindergartens, and play areas at every level. The cities will be full of services and industries in order to serve man better and to minimize travel.

The benefits of education and leisure will be open to all, and no longer restricted to specific institutions. Public facilities of all sorts--office buildings, theaters, restaurants, and nightclubs--will house their own art galleries. The pavement, itself, will be a mosaic winding through public courtyards of statuary.

Perhaps it is because Doxiadis stands as our contemporary more so than Howard, Wright, or Le Corbusier, that we find in "Ecumenopolis" a creation so sensitive to our urgent needs. And, like Doxiadis, perceiving the Eastern seaboard or the Great Lakes region admonishes us to recognize that "Ecumenopolis" is partially underway." But whether it is achieved for the enhancement or destruction of man, Doxiadis calls into question man's ability to couple reason and dream and to carry out his plans. More specifically, we question two points. To what extent can man progress to a level of normative standards that will allow him to be a member of a truly world-wide community, and, to what extent can man relinquish certain sentiments toward his city for the sake of its "dynamic" growth?

Conclusion

This study suggests several points about our four planners. First, all share such a high regard for the benefits of nature that their ideal land use patterns provide liberal doses of it in the heart of the city--even at the expense of economic efficiency. Second, they have a tendency to underestimate the advantages of population concentration and attendant economies of scale. Third, none of the planners are responsive to the sentimental, or symbolic, aspects of man's differential relationship to land and buildings. They instead appear to regard all land as equally valuable--a dangerous mistake. Much the same attitude applies to buildings, with little recognition of the fact that an obsolete, costly, but historic, building is sometimes preferred over a new, efficient one. Fourth, an overreliance on "physical" solutions (buildings, roads, land use patterns) as opposed to sociological solutions (institutions, values, norms) sometimes implicitly leads to highly doubtful blends of physical organization and social organization. Finally, all four authors seem to overestimate the sophistication of urban men. Generally an intelligent self-disciplined, sociable, refined open-minded, peace-loving, and sensitive man is the supposed inhabitant, but little is said about what will happen to the other ninety-five per cent of us. Planners are not alone in making this mistake. Sociological literature about the nature of urban man is full of the same misconception.[11]

It is obvious that there is much more in the literature of ideal cities for us than first meets the eye. On the other hand, Le Corbusier and Doxiadis have both wisely recognized the need for focussing more sociological expertise on urban design. We join them in urging more interdisciplinary interaction.

(Footnotes are available form the authors upon request.)

THE PERSONALITY OF CITIES: A SOCIOLOGIST'S IMPRESSION

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Introductory: The Search for the Personality of a City

The search for the personality of a city is, in many ways, an ephemeral project, a will o' the wisp. Yet upon closer investigation, it is a qualitative experience that many writers have had. We may cite but a few of many examples of outstanding labels that differentiated cities to writers who know them (taken from Our Fair City)[1] Louis M. Lyons, "Boston: Study in Inertia", Paul Crowell, "New York: The Greatest City in the World"; Henning Heldt, "Miami: Heaven or Honky-Tonk:"; Richard L. Maher, "Cleveland: Study in Political Paradoxes." Others have thought of cities as alive and human. Lewis Mumford[2] speaks of the city as an "amoeba" that with outstretched, voracious arms swallows up the surrounding territories. Davie speaks of New York City as a "giant."[3] Other humanoid traits appear to strike writers, such as, "Birmingham: steel giant with glass eye;" "Milwaukee: Old Lady Thrift;" "Denver: Civic Schizophrenic" and, finally, Charles Roudebaugh personalizes San Francisco as "The Beldam."

Others have labeled cities by the outstanding activity. Walter J. Matherly[4] classified cities as Industrial, such as Pittsburgh and Cleveland; commercial such as New Orleans and San Francisco; and spiritual or intellectual as Rome, Mecca, Jerusalem. There may be many specialized cities: transportation, Ogden, Utah; a port, Charleston, South Carolina and Savannah, Ga., a college town, Oberlin, Ohio; or one that is merely a bedroom suburb or home of workers as Whiting, Indiana, adjoining Chicago. Ella Woodyard,[5] in a study of the "Individual Differences in American Cities," in 117 cities, points out that the factors that seem to differentiate cities are many: home ownership, income levels, number of museums and cultural interests, expenditures of government, and public use of property. She feels, however, that the nature of a city's people more than wealth or income counts most in evaluating the individuality of a city. Lewis Mumford feels that:

> ...Climate does not so much limit the existence of cities as individualize the type of urban adaptation. Each city has its characteristic play of weather, set off against its special landscape; the fog of London, the stinging wind of Edinburgh, the luxuriant warmth of palm-lined Santa Monica, California, ... the gloomy skies of Berlin.[6]

A factor which adds to the individuality of a city is its food and drink and the effect these have upon the port, gesture, manners and alertness of the inhabitants. The bouillabaisse of Marseilles, the fried cakes of Amsterdam, the baked beans of Boston, and the spaghetti of Naples, all leave indelible impressions. A city contains epicurean and carnivorous human beings. Still a fourth attribute of urban individuality is its geological foundation and natural qualities of the earth. One cannot think of Daytona or Malibu Beaches or Rio de Janeiro without the white gleaming sand, Pittsburgh without the oily shale, and Augusta, Georgia, without winter grass for golf, and the lush masses of camelia and magnolia blossoms. Further, one cannot think of an important city without its trade and industry, for this utilizes, in the largest sweep, the natural resources, products, processes, and mode of life. Lastly, the social life of a city seems to give it individuation.

Historically, cities had many purposes. Ancient cities were often founded as religious centers, and medieval towns as enclosures and for protection. With the Industrial Revolution, cities became industrial centers. Since cities do not produce their own food, some arose as outlets for an entire agricultural area, such as New Orleans; from its mouth gushes the entire wealth of the Mississippi Valley, or Lubbock with its hinterland of cotton. Modern cities arose where coal and iron ore met fortuitously. This is true of such cities as Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. Actually a great city combines all of the above factors: good climate, natural resources, rivers and water, adjacency to a wealthy region, facing other parts of the world and the cross-cultural influence of many peoples.

We are all well aware that cities have many problems that plague and disturb them: industrialism and its wastes, family instability, remoteness from nature, racial and class cleavage, extremes in social and political value systems, large deviant and pathological groups, large over-stimulating populations, accentuated problems of health and poverty, housing, riots, and ghettos, clogged transportation and choking pollution, the drift of the maladjusted or rebellious to the city, and the great urgency for city planning. Any one of these problems might serve as a vantage point to characterize a city and the search would be insurmountable. Despite these haunting problems, the city still attracts and the "urban pull" brings ever larger numbers to the cities of the world.

I have, therefore, chosen the basis for establishing personality by limiting the number to only four cities, showing six characteristics which seem to give them individuality. Like human beings, they share many things in common which creates their vigor and personality, but each one has something different that has left an indelible impression. Men who visit our country often speak of the fact that the United States looks so much alike. I wish to differ with them. Driving across the country there is a panoramic change of scenery, a change of food taste, a change of attitudes and ideas. Surely the man in New York City thinks in diverse fashion from the man in Ames, Iowa; the rolling, rich farms of Iowa do not have the same meaning for the New Yorker fresh from a claustraphobic skyscraper world. The woman of New York "cafe society" hears different music than the girl riding merrily, in a yellow jeep, up to Grandfather's Mountain, for the yearly "song-fest," or the rich and pensive folk songs that come from cafes in the West and Southwest.

I feel such different impressions have also been made by cities. I shall present glimpses of the following four: New York, Cleveland, San Francisco and New Orleans. I have chosen these cities because they circle the United States, and I have lived in them from a few weeks to many years. One can almost think of them as certain kinds of people. Thus, if you will permit personalization and liberty of imagination, they appear as: New York, a sophisticated woman; Cleveland, a lady of culture and poise; San Francisco, a lady in contact with longshoremen and men of the sea; and New Orleans, a gay, sinful gal with an accent. I shall, further, view the personality of each city as to the following aspects: (1) Her physical characteristics--geographic factors, natural advantages. (2) Does the lady have a past?--brief historic perspective. This is especially important if the people are proud of their city's past. (3) The people in her life--influential persons and varied population groupings. (4) Is she a lady of wealth?--economic significance of commerce, trade, industry. (5) Her cultural attainments--recreation and the arts, and a dash of life after dark. (6) What makes her different?--Tastes in food, fancy, and espirit de corps.

II. THE FOUR CITIES

CLEVELAND: "The Forest City"

John Gunther in Inside USA tells us: "Take a ruler. Lay it across a map from the Mesabi Range to the Pennsylvania coal fields. It will hit Lake Erie precisely at Cleveland, and this, of course, is one of the principle reasons for its phenomenal development."[7] Added to this advantage of being close to coal and iron ore, Cleveland faces the Great Lakes. The shape of Cleveland is like a huge fan stretching away from Lake Erie along arterial streets. While it is a steel center yet other industries are also important, such as clothing, Warner and Swasey machine tools, Sherman Williams paints, White Motor Company, and a division of General Electric.

Cleveland was founded as part of the Western Reserve land holdings by Puritans from Connecticut. Samuel Mather and Moses Cleveland of the Connecticut Land Company loom important in its history. Cleveland was a sleepy town for the first fifty years, but with the discovery of iron ore and the building of the Ohio Canal, its growth was rapid. Samuel Mather made the Mather name a powerful influence in Cleveland whose descendents have influence to this day. He developed interests in steel, coal, ships, banks and a dozen allied projects. When he died in 1931, he was the richest man in Ohio. He gave away over twenty-five million dollars.

Other names that loom important in Cleveland history are: Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Mark Hanna, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Oris P. and Mantis J. Van Sweringen. The Van Sweringen brothers built Shaker Heights, the fine residential district of Cleveland, a rapid transit system, brought together a 23,000 mile railroad system into one spot, The Terminal Group. During the depression, however, their little empire collapsed. Should you wish to take a Sunday afternoon automobile jaunt, you may still see hundreds of white criss-crossed picket fences, the symbol of the former Van Sweringen land empire.

The men of affluence in the life of Cleveland, gave her many cultural advantages. Conscientious New Englanders gave some of their wealth back to Cleveland by building the Cultural Center with Severance Hall, the home of the Cleveland Orchestra, Case Western Reserve University and the Garden Center. Men like Wade, Rockefeller, and Gordon helped set aside huge tracts of land which comprise the large parks of Cleveland. Carnegie endowed a large library system; and to come to the present social and political problems, Cleveland is the first large city to have elected and reelected a Black mayor.

Cleveland claims uniqueness in other cultural attainments. She has one of the finest civic centers in the nation. She was the founder of the Community Chest--a model for community funds. Her symphony orchestra is one of the finest in the country. She has over 210 little theaters, and established the Karamu Theater, the country's first Negro theater, part of a Settlement House development. Cleveland is very culture-conscious but in a quiet, assured way.

From a recreational point of view, Cleveland is not unique although there are many settlement houses, playschools, playgrounds and the Hanna Theater. There are, of course, the usual number of night clubs connected mostly with the large hotels and plenty of honky-tonks. Such places as "Bell-Murphy's" and "Shadowland" provide a meeting place for "the gang," "the maladjusted," "the assignation girl," "the homosexual," and the wealthy out on a "slumming" spree or the sailor lost in the "Fleet's Inn" where "ladies" are not invited.

Clevelanders claim fame for their beautiful tree-lined residential homes, in the midst of what they proudly call "The Forest City," although lush vegetation is limited to exclusive areas or parks.

Like many other cities, Cleveland is a "melting pot" of peoples. The city is one of the most heterogeneous in the nation. Roughly 50 percent are of foreign-born parents. However, no single nationality has more than 15 percent of the total, with the exception of Negroes. This makes for a good deal of tolerance, and cooperation among the groups. There are British, Czechs, Germans, Italians, Russians, Jews, Irish, Slovaks, and Negroes. Each one of these ethnic groups has a place in the Cultural Garden, with a statue or flower design dedicated to its national hero. Despite the Hough riots and political change, Cleveland groups are the most civic and civil rights minded and organizing in the country. The spirit of the people, according to Gunther, is such that they would cooperate and form a committee "to organize the weather." In recent political history, both white and Negro groups worked from door to door to get the voters to the polls.

In the personality of Cleveland, the quiet emphasis upon culture and the arts, beautiful homes, and the strong civic spirit of its heterogeneous population impress one as its striking traits.

SAN FRANCISCO: "The City of the Golden Gate"

San Francisco is famous for its Golden Gate bridge, the historic and antiquated cable cars that travel almost perpendicular streets, Chinatown, the longshoremen, led by Harry Bridges, and the haven of the hippies. It is a seaport of great importance since the wealth of the Northwest, and California pour out through her gates. It faces the Pacific, Hawaii and the Orient. San Francisco is situated on seven hills at the end of a peninsula jutting out between the Pacific Ocean and San Francisco Bay. The discovery of gold, in 1848, and the building of the Central Pacific Railroad, gave San Francisco its booming start. The Comstock Load and the Bonanza Kings added to her rise in wealth and fame.

The famous names and industries found in the city are impressive, to name but a few: Flood in mining, Crocker in banking, Clark in copper, Matson in shipping, Blyth in investment banking, Spreckles in Hawaiian sugar, and Kaiser in ships, planes, and automobiles. Some of the wealth seeped down in small trickles and the citizens of San Francisco enjoy the Civic Auditorium, the Opera House, Libraries, and the Golden Gate Park.

Here, as in other cities, is to be found a Gold Coast and a Slum. The wealthy dwell in huge mansions on Telegraph Hill, a beautiful residential area, high up on terraced ground that almost resembles the hanging gardens of Babylon. Similarly, swanky homes have been built on huge estates on what is known as the Peninsula, first developed by financier William C. Ralston, who built a home to accomodate 130 guests. In contrast, there had been a great deal of concern as to the building of a "western addition" on an area of two and one-fourth square miles to accomodate 86,000 persons in dire need of housing.[8] Great contrasts may also be seen in the hovels around the famous fisherman's wharf, the honky-tonks, and longshoremen's "hang-outs" and the very expensive, modern High Rise apartments. The tourist also finds Chinatown a colorful place, but actually it is a real "ghetto," although in transition. To quote Charles Raudabaugh in Our Fair City:

> It is easy, for example, to look upon San Francisco's Chinatown as a place of colorful, esoteric romance. Yet the brutal fact is that it is a ghetto. Its inhabitants live within an invisible Chinese wall. They are the victims of segregation in housing and discrimination in employment and education...[9]

San Francisco's population is suffocatingly jam-packed. As a debarkation point during wars, it is much in the same difficult position as New York, except that it has even less place to expand. As in other cities, there is a great intermixture of peoples here: Czechs, Norwegians, Portuguese, Russians, Yugoslavs, Spanish, Turkish, Greek, Syrians, Iranians, and the largest Chinese and Japanese colony in the country. The underworld group thrives in San Francisco, and even during prohibition days liquor flowed freely. Jake "the Master" Ehrlick, a star attorney for the town's big-time underworld characters, and Sally Stanford, now in San Saulito, often mentioned by the press as "the town's most distinguished madame," are people about whom San Francisco knows and, with tongue in cheek, finds amusing. Strikes and conflict of the Longshoreman's Union, thousands of sailors and tourists crowding the streets in search of a gal or a bar, the slow climbing cable cars, the beauty of the Bay from Telegraph Hill, or the city from the "Top-of-the Mark" cocktail lounge, the fog and rain, and the intense vitality and vigor of the people are all impressions of a distinct urban personality.

NEW ORLEANS: "The Crescent City"

In The Cities of America, George S. Perry describes New Orleans in the following mood:

> In some ways gaudy old New Orleans very much resembles an alluring, party-loving woman who is neither as virtuous as she might be nor as young as she looks, who has a come-hither eye, an engaging trace of accent in her speech, and a weakness for the pleasures both of the table and the couch--a femme fatale who has known great ecstacy and tragedy, but still laughs and loves excitement, and who, after each bout of sinning, does duly confess and perhaps partially repent. One of the most fundamental and important attributes is that life in New Orleans is practically never boring. Almost every day is fête day.[10]

However frivolous the above impression of New Orleans may sound, the city does make a great deal of money from the emphasis upon gaity. Mardi Gras festivals, Antoine's, where chicken is cooked in wine, or dinner at Arnaud's, or La Louisianne, with Sazerac cocktails and delicious "Pompano en papilotte" are to be enjoyed. Gunther claims that nearly all the restaurants in New Orleans serve exceptionally good food. Here the epicure can find his heaven. Mayors, from time to time, are supposed to have closed up many of the famous honky-tonks but the advertisements stress the fact that they merely "cleaned up the town" "not closed it." Those who know the tourist attraction of many night clubs and dance places of New Orlean's Bourbon Street, realize the profit of the French quarter, and that a mere campaign for a short time is a pretense and a farce.

New Orleans is a drawing card because it seems not at all American. Gunther feels the French quarter is more Italian in atmosphere than French or Spanish. The town is divided into two large sections: one is the French Quarter where dirt, poverty and much squaler gets mixed up with exquisite iron grill-work. New Orleans is proud of its old homes, with piazzas and balconies decorated with fine grill motifs. Originally the buildings were Spanish, but the quarters suffered a number of conflagrations, and the recent grill-work is mostly French. Exquisite cast-iron artistry is to be seen in the Ursuline Convent, and the little Theater, built in 1795, with designs done by Marcelino Hernandez. From 1803 on, the American and Creoles had a building boom, and grill-work is now to be found all over the city.[11] The effect of the grill-work is to give the architecture of New Orleans a distinctive appearance, as though enhanced by fine lace. The second part of New Orleans, now in transition, consists of lovely homes running off Saint Charles Avenue, where the residents are mostly Anglos rather than French or Spanish.

But the importance of New Orleans lies not in its delicate grill-work, or even its gay night life or topless waitresses, or as the cradle of jazz and festivals in profusion but its strategic location as a port. The wealth of a large agricultural region emits from its port, one of the largest in the country, and the reasons for it are: (1) an in-land all weather harbor with barnacle-loosening fresh water; (2) many miles of side-docking slips; and (3) superb trade location at the confluence of the Mississippi and facing South America. In addition, there has been a huge campaign to build up and publicize the advantages of the port. Furthermore, an International House has been built next to the Pan-American Mart, in which dignitaries of trade and foreign consuls from all over the world are entertained, wined and dined from the services of a special secretary to dinners at Antoine's.[12] To walk along the wharf of New Orleans is an experience reminiscent of far-off places and strange lands. One sees piles of golden bananas, coffee, sugar cane, lumber, cotton, rice and corn loaded on the docks. New Orleans is a "tough dockyard city," and a great port.

The usual tourist does not realize so much the economic significance, or potential power of the port but is rather impressed by the spirit of the people. There is a kind of lax and easy softness and enthusiasm for carnivals, new buildings, tragedy at the burning of the opera house, and a pride in civic developments, exquisite grill-work, and the charm of southern living. The people are proud of its ancient lore, and polyglot population, of its place in the very early history of America. New Orleans was important before the Revolution, then it had a decline and, recently, considerable rebirth and redevelopment.[13] Yet, on the whole, one does not remember New Orleans as an energetic port, but rather as an easy-going, soft-spoken, gay-loving personality. Not the new shipments are being heralded by the people, but the Mardi Gras Carnival.

NEW YORK: "The Giant"

I shall not describe New York in much detail for it is such a huge subject that description could be endless. What is true of the last three cities, the factor of a very fine port facing Europe, many industries, and many financial tycoons who influenced the city, are all known phenomena here. New York highlights all the elements of a city's personality. There are over seventy ethnic groups in New York, from Bulgarians to Yemenites. It is a fact in figures, but also a strong impression on the surface. One especially experiences the Babylon of tongues and heterogeneity of facial types, upon the streets of New York, when coming fresh from a fairly homogeneous community in the west. One feels almost in a strange land. One sees a beautiful woman who just stepped out from Vogue magazine but, when she opens her mouth, a strange tongue is heard. New York women appear chickly dressed, sophisticated and indifferent but, upon closer contact, they become women who have left small towns and seem quite insecure and lonely.

Architecturally and from an engineering point of view, New York represents the very heighth of technological development although most vulnerable to destruction. To know New York, one must search for her personality beyond the towering skyscraper, beyond cafe society, beautiful shops, great hotels, beyond her exterior.

But if New York has reality, it is to the interest of the city to cater to the myth which the rest of the country has built up regarding it. This myth is important in order to understand the spirit of New York. It is the prime reason New York does a bigger business in the winter than Miami, and than Atlantic City in the summer. It is the myth of Brooklyn Bridge, the Third Avenue Bars, the Rockefeller and the Fine Arts Centers and the Bowery Flophouses, "cafe society" and 1000-dollar-a-ticket banquets, the 102 story Empire State Building, and hundreds of other wonders that make New York a description in superlatives. It is the myth that gives New York its personality. As Malinowski pointed out, to understand the behavior and ritual of a tribe one must know the myth which gives it meaning; thus, also, the reality of New York is now engulfed in the myth. New York is sophisticated, active, spectacular, and loves all the drama of her own personality.

FOOTNOTES

1. Allen, Robert S., Our Fair City.

2. Mumford, Lewis, The Culture of Cities.

3. Davie, Maurice R., Problems of City Life.

4. Matherly, Walter J., "The Changing Culture of the City," Social Forces 13 (March 1939) pp. 349-357.

5. Thorndike, Edward L. and Ella Woodyard, "Individual Differences in American Cities," American Journal of Sociology 43(September 1937) pp. 191.

6. Mumford, Lewis, City Development: Studies in Integration and Renewal (New York, 1945) p. 317.

7. Gunther, John, Inside USA.

8. "The Peninsula: Playground of San Francisco Society," (August 18, 1947). See also: "Beautiful City of the Golden Gate," (April 30, 1945).

9. Raudabaugh, Charles in Our Fair City.

10. Perry, George Sessions, Cities of America, p. 1.

11. Wilson, S., Jr., "New Orleans," Art 41 (1948) pp. 214-217.

12. ____________, "The Great New Orleans Steal," Fortune 38 (November 1948) pp. 102-103.

13. Bernhard, J.H., "New Orleans has its Face Lifted: A Reply," New Republic (September 1947).

THE VALIDITY OF THE BACCALAUREATE EDUCATED SOCIAL WELFARE WORKER

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Research Question: Is the Baccalaureate Degree with a sequence in social welfare a valid credential for the social welfare practitioner? Traditionally the social work profession has held up the Master's Degree in Social Work (M.S.W.) as the standard for professional competence. But at the present time approximately 20% of social welfare manpower in this country have an M.S.W. degree.

Frankly, with 80% of its manpower currently practicing without an M.S.W. education, the social work profession's recent interest in establishing the validity of practice at the baccalaureate level after all these years seems tragically comical. The profession is seen once again shutting the barn door, this time many years after the horse has run away. Perhaps the relevant question to ask at this time should be, "Is the social work profession a valid channel for the baccalaureate educated person who is interested in helping people?" The profession has failed to define clearly and precisely what its practitioners do or to prove empirically just what success they have in their work. It has only vague concepts of what success would look like if it were achieved with very little consensus as to the goals of casework practice.

It is no surprise then that this research project has no final answers about "the validity of the baccalaureate educated social welfare worker" since the validity of conventional social work practice by the worker with an M.S.W. has not been established, (referring to N.A.S.W.'s inability to devise a test for competence). This research project has uncovered some interesting correlations between the educational status of a sample of workers in the Texas State Department of Public Welfare and their relative job success, length of employment, and job satisfaction.

Method: Two hundred and twenty-three employees of the Department of Public Welfare were studied to determine their vital statistics, on the job evaluation, length of employment, and job satisfaction. Of these, 123 had resigned from their job during 1968. Their reasons for resigning were obtained as well as the turnover rates for the various groups who resigned. The workers in this study were selected at random from the Department's current staff and surveys were sent to all the professional staff who resigned from the Department during 1968.

The Department's personnel policies seem to operate on the assumption that an employee with a baccalaureate degree will function better than an employee without one; another assumption is that a social science major is preferable to other majors. To test these assumptions, those employees with no degree, with a social science degree, and with any other degree were compared according to length of employment, job satisfaction, age, sex, evaluation, and reason for resigning for those who resigned. Unfortunately there was no way to determine which social science majors had had a sequence in social welfare. A mechanism for determining this information has just been developed.

Results: As education becomes more specific to social welfare (according to the above assumption), the average length of employment decreases from 8.7 years for those with no degree to 6.8 years for those with other than social science degree to 2.5 years for those with a social science degree.

The job satisfaction measure also drops, from 82 to 78 to 68, as the education becomes more specific to social welfare. The median age lowers, from 41 to 31 to 25 as the social welfare education increases. This phenomena may provide an explanation for why tenure drops as social science education increases. Certainly one of the most definite trends in this study is that length of employment increases with age. Not only is the older employee more mature and stable, but he has been of working age long enough to build tenure.

Another important factor influencing the higher turnover among the degreed employees is the fact that the Department stopped hiring employees without a degree in June of 1967 and it had discouraged the hiring of them before that. The employees without their degree necessarily had at least six months experience in 1968 and had already passed that high risk decision time at which they were put on permanent status. Thus the comparatively high turnover of employees with social science degree may be due to their young age and low job experience.

When education is compared with performance, there are indications that high performance is correlated with both graduate education in social welfare or lack of degree, and that those with a baccalaureate degree have considerably fewer above standard ratings and more below standard ratings. Again, length of time on the job may be playing a big part in this. The average tenure for those who do not have a degree is 9.2 years, while the average tenure for those with social science degrees is 3.3 years. Another factor which seems to affect the performance evaluation of the social science major in the Department is whether he functions in a Social Service role or in an Eligibility role. Social science graduates in the social service roles receive over twice as many above standard ratings as those in the eligibility role, while social science graduates in the eligibility function receive three times as many below standard ratings.

To discover more about which kind of educational background seems more appropriate for employees in the service and eligibility functions, the data on employees with above standard evaluation was examined according to function and education. More eligibility workers with above standard evaluation have No Degree (56%) than any other educational status, while only 19% have a social science degree. More Service Workers with above standard evaluation have a social science degree (79%) than any other degree, and only 21% have Other Degree. There were only twelve (12) Below Standard workers in the samples, eight (8) of which were in the eligibility function. Of those eight eligibility workers, five (5) had a social science degree. It is believed that a larger sample would project this trend, which indicates the unsuitability of the social science major for eligibility determination, as well as the suitability of the non-degreed person for eligibility determination.

Of those in the sample who had resigned, 53% of the social science majors gave negative feelings about their job as the reason for resigning, while only 30% of the others did. On the other hand, none of the social science majors were fired, while 4% of those with Other Degrees and 7% of those with No Degree were fired.

Job Perception as Related to Educational Status: One part of the survey sent to these workers measures job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The results of this survey pointed out that the staff with 60 hours or less of college enjoyed their work tasks the most; those with 60 to 120 semester hours indicated considerable less enjoyment of work tasks; those with a B.A. degree in other than a social science major indicated less enjoyment; those with a social science degree indicated still less work enjoyment and those with their M.S.W. degree the least. The job satisfaction study also pointed out that job success, recognition, training and supervision, and work tasks were the areas of work which most affected the worker's decision to stay on the job or leave it. The physical remuneration was seen as a negative aspect of their job, but it did not seem to affect their decision about resigning. This study also pointed out that the more specific their education was to social welfare, the more significant job success was to their decision to stay on the job.

Conclusions: It was concluded that turnover and job dissatisfaction seems to increase with education especially as the education becomes more specific to social welfare. Job satisfaction seems to decrease as education and turnover increase. Perhaps the most significant findings were that social science education appears to be a positive factor for the social service worker and a negative factor for the eligibility worker. In fact, those with No Degree seem to perform best in eligibility determination.

The high turnover and job dissatisfaction among social science graduates seems to have implications for the agency and the profession as well as the educator. The new graduate in social science comes with high standards for his job success and is dissatisfied with the limitations of the public welfare job. Perhaps the agencies should be less tolerant of some of their limitations and more aggressive in seeking ways out of the red tape and tradition which limit success in helping people. But also the educators could better prepare the graduate for life in the real world. They could have a better knowlege of the fact that red tape, legal hang-ups, and resistance to change in the agency sometimes present more problems to the new worker than the client does. They could understand that solutions to these administrative problems are extremely difficult or they would have been solved long ago. They could be careful in framing their criticism of the agency to see that it is accurate and well documented instead of shooting from the hip as new graduates so often do.

Even so, the question of validity is being falsely placed upon the education of the worker when the validity problem has implications for the profession and the agency as well. If this study has doen nothing else it has made it clear that there are a meriad of questions to be asked of the total social welfare situation and that focus upon the worker's training alone is the profession's attempt at evading its responsibility for obtaining solutions.

OBSERVED ISSUES IN UNDERGRADUATE SOCIAL WELFARE EDUCATION IN TEXAS

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Introduction

In eighteen months experience with undergraduate social welfare educational programs, Texas Manpower Development Project staff and consultants[1] have noted certain issues that may affect future development of these programs. This paper seeks to point these out for the consideration of agency directors and college administrators and faculty.

For a number of years, graduate schools of social work and those of other related disciplines have educated the only sanctioned professionals in the social welfare field. Nevertheless, workers with a bachelor degree, or less, continued to fill some seventy-five percent of all social service positions, the majority having little education consciously directed to their career needs.[2] A consequent high turnover and a shortage of skilled social service personnel resulted in a federal report in 1965 - "Closing the Gap in Social Work Manpower." It recommended worker utilization studies, development in all levels of social welfare education, and the use of outreach recruitment in the field. This brought about federal funding of undergraduate programs (three in Texas) and projects across the country similar to the Texas Manpower Development Project. The surge of undergraduate social welfare education since 1965, the development of worker utilization models, and the recent admittance of social welfare baccalaureates to National Association of Social Workers membership begins to nudge the talent logjam; but it is not broken.

Issues Concerning the Relationship of Social Welfare Programs to the Academic Setting

The liberal versus vocational education controversy raises its head more often than most. McPheeters and Levin speak to this issue:

> "It is our position that the basic orientation of undergraduate social welfare programs is that of the liberal arts. The programs should be grounded in the humanities and in the social sciences. The courses that deal with social welfare should have a sound conceptual and theoretical base and should be consistent with the liberal arts objectives of teaching the student to become a free man in a free society and to solve problems."[3]

> "At the same time that these programs are fulfilling the theoretical and conceptual expectations of the liberal arts, they should also prepare the student to practice certain skills and techniques of intervention in the resolution and management of social problems of people at some basic level of competence. The modern view, which we share, is that there is no essential conflict in including vocational skill training in an essentially liberal arts program, provided that the basic liberal arts goals are met. In fact, virtually all higher education in the U.S. today has occupational objectives as well as conceptual and theoretical objectives. In most cases the practicum work actually provides a laboratory in which the student tests and integrates the many theoretical inputs and thereby enhances the liberal arts education."[4]

A well prepared graduate of a social welfare program knows less how to perform in a specified way than how to evaluate all factors in a client's milieu and select from alternate approaches a method of enabling him to function better. In order to do this, the graduate has practiced (in field experience or simulated in class) applying his knowledge of psychological, social, economic, and political processes to client problems so that these processes are meaningful in application. Needless to say, a college or university that initiates a social welfare sequence must also offer a sufficient depth and variety of social sciences.

In seeking to achieve this extra dimension, a social welfare sequence may encounter problems in determining how it relates to the foundation social science courses. In the majority of cases a student majors in a social science which is geared to departmental objectives. As a result, these sequence and academic social sciences courses stand in danger of becoming compartmentalized from each other. Some social science faculty lack interest in the goals of those students in the class wanting to become social service professionals and fail to build bridges from the course content to areas of these students' interest and life's work. An opposite extreme occurs when social welfare tends to submerge the identity of an academic social science, and social workers or related professionals assume responsibility for teaching a major portion of the sociology or psychology courses. If the instructor is not qualified in these particular areas, a student may not be able to utilize a knowledge of the social sciences processes through failure to conceptualize them adequately.

Undergraduate social welfare education is still in the process of development and establishing its credibility. Since these programs are usually adopted as an appendage to a social science department of a school of social work, they are likely to hold a secondary priority. The only social welfare instructor may be transferred to fill a vacancy in academic sociology: or more subtly, a lower status diminishes its "esprit de corps." A quality program cannot thrive as a stepchild. To be considered a creditable program, it must rank an equal priority with other academic preparations in the sponsoring department.

In connection with this, the departmental administrator may waver in his commitment to the social welfare program through a gnawing ambiguity over the use of applied social science within the department. If the social welfare sequence is to be an asset to the department, then the administrator must resolve any fears that the sequence threatens the existing track leading to teaching or research or that it detracts from the status of the department.[5] The complex educational objectives of a social welfare sequence requires that it be instructed under optimum conditions. Unless administration and faculty are fully committed, initiating a sequence may not be worth the effort.

Issues in Curriculum Planning

Other issues evolve around the amount of planning a college or university sees as necessary to initiate a program in this rapidly developing field. This planning requires a conceptualization of the student's entire college experience and of the methods of integrating both background and social welfare courses to create a whole.

It is practically impossible to plan an up-to-date program without the help of a consultant who is thoroughly knowledgeable about nationally evolving trends in social welfare education. Council on Social Work Education consultants combine this knowledge with particular areas of expertise for each, either in curriculum development, administrative consultation, library development, or others.

The formulation of well conceived objectives is the key to successful planning. Generally, objectives state the intellectual tools, values and skills that an administration expects students to demonstrate at the end of a program. Objectives may vary according to the goals of a particular college or university, but they will include much that is generic to other programs. A consultant enables the curriculum planner to translate program objectives into appropriate course units and helps instructors develop specific learning experiences to meet behaviorial objectives of each unit. Some program objectives deal with the foundation humanities and social sciences. Others may relate exclusively to the several courses in the social welfare sequence, and some to both. To be useful, objectives must be utilized; otherwise the program becomes a "hodge podge."

A good program is flexible, Content areas are identified for students in lieu of specifically required courses as much as possible. Strong advisement enables a student to take courses sequentially. Individual student goals may be met more successfully by concentrating in another social science than that of the department sponsoring the sequence. Modern economic and political science and an interdisciplinary approach are becoming increasingly more important to social service.

Considerable planning goes into any good program. The pioneering social welfare field requires an extra effort to find what is known and to venture creatively into the unknown. Yet, the best are never satisfied and constantly seek ways to evaluate and improve on what they already have. The broad guidelines in social welfare education at this time allow for program experimentation. This presents an opportunity to incorporate relevant developments currently emerging in higher education. Examples of this are interdisciplinary programs and also use of consortia in metropolitan areas to insure quality and eliminate expensive competition. However, such programs can be achieved only through expert leadership and with administrators capable of becoming convinced that the mutual product of a better educated student will enhance their individual departments and institutions more than if they did not attempt the innovation.

Issues Relating to the Selection, Orientation, and Conditions of Employment of Social Welfare Faculty

Instructing the social welfare sequence requires relating academic concepts and core social welfare content to practice. The most available person capable of doing this is usually an MSW social worker or a related professional.[6] Hiring a qualified social worker presents a particular problem when pay and status is based on an academic degree. For most purposes at this time, the master degree in social work is a terminal professional degree. Master degree social workers are hired in the market place of social agencies where the median salary for general administration, teaching, and research fell within the $13,000 to $13,999 bracket in 1968.[7] If this pay level is above that for other master degree faculty in a particular college or university, then social welfare instructors should be placed in a special professional category for higher pay and promotional opportunities in order to obtain competent faculty. This is done for the same reason that doctors, lawyers, and other teaching professionals receive special consideration in pay and status.

Once the social worker or related professional is on the faculty, then he must learn to function in the academic setting, which is much different from an agency: and, primarily, he must consciously set about acquiring teaching methodology to become optimally successful. Council on Social Work Education and regional compacts(SREB in this area) provide workshops for this purpose and curriculum development in social welfare. These workshops also bring the professional up-to-date with the rapid developments in social welfare education which render antiquated after several years certain approaches learned in graduate school.

Besides learning a new role in the academic setting, the instructor-professional may find that he needs to interpret certain requirements of the social welfare program to an administration whose main concern has been the needs of the academic disciplines. Administration must become convinced that the sequence requires different instructor-student ratios. As in any professional program, the field course is quite expensive in time required to plan with agencies and students, maintain the complicated communications with both, and find means (usually seminar) of relating field and class experiences. It takes time also for the type of innovative and small group instruction necessary to meet sequence objectives of integrating knowledge, values, and skills. Since social welfare instruction is still in a developing and experimental stage, the individual instructor must also have time to study the field to find the right course objectives and translate these into appropriate learning experiences.

As a social welfare instructor continues teaching the sequence, he needs the enrichment of interaction with others in the same field. Solitary instructors a hundred or more miles from another sequence college especially need the stimulation of meetings sponsored by the Manpower Development Project, Southern Regional Education Board, and the Council on Social Work Education. Membership in the Council provides another dimension of involvement and the provision of current national literature. Ongoing communication with social science colleagues and the social service community rounds out this gestalt.

Conclusion

The future of undergraduate social welfare education hinges upon the field's successfully defining the functions of different levels of staff as well as agencies hiring preferentially those who have been educated for social service. A decision to do this will stem from a conviction that graduates of social welfare programs perform more effectively than others. Hopefully, graduates of sequences will demonstrate this to be a valid conviction.

A social welfare educational program should provide a student with an added capacity for adaptive social problem solving rather than equipping him with "pat" solutions ans methodology that rapidly relegates itself to the past. In moving toward this larger commitment, a college or university must do the planning and provide the instruction necessary to prepare students for social service within a complex social arena.

In obtaining a professional faculty member competent enough to do this successfully, administration may need to provide incentives inconsistent with the normal degree-based faculty ranking system. Different faculty-student ratios must also be apportioned for a sequence, and faculty must be provided sufficient planning time in a developing program.

A top notch sequence integrated into a strong liberal arts foundation should result in optimum education for social service. The social problems of this era dictate that education and society settle for no less!

FOOTNOTES

1. Ralph Segalman, Ph.D., Calvin Dunham, ACSW, and Charles Kirkpatrick, ACSW.

2. Texas Woman's University pioneered undergraduate social welfare education twenty-three years ago. Fifteen complete programs function today in Texas.

3. Harold L. McPheeters, M.D. and Lester I. Levin, "Undergraduate Social Welfare Faculty Development Project - Southern Regional Education Board" (a paper defining terms and functions of the project, 1969).

4. Ibid.

5. The history of this wariness stems from a common origin of sociology and social work and the original close association of the two disciplines. As sociology strove to become more scientific, it purged itself of the applied social work. However, students whose primary aim was to become helping professionals continued to flock to sociology and psychology. Many sociology departments continued to instruct a course or courses in social work to accomodate them. However, these often assumed low status, frequently with low man on the department totem pole serving as instructor.

6. Graduate vocational rehabilitation counselors, clinical psychologists, sociologists with field experience, or other categories may also be available and able to do the job.

7. Alfred M. Stamm, "NASW Membership: Characteristics, Deployment, and Salaries", Personnel Information, Vol. XII, No. 3 (May, 1969), National Association of Social Workers.

8. Acknowledgements: Reba Bucklew, Ph.D., and Guy Shuttlesworth, ACSW, of the Educational Sub-committee of the Manpower Development Project Advisory Board.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FIELD EXPERIENCE FOR THE BACCALAUREATE DEGREE SOCIAL WORKER

Virginia Maner

Texas Manpower Development Project

In response to the needs for establishing field experience for the undergraduate social welfare sequence students in Texas colleges and universities, the Manpower Development Project assumed several Welfare Training responsibilities. One of these was the establishment, in September, 1969, of a field experience unit in San Antonio which could be a model in the sense that it could be used as a learning experience both for the undergraduate students and for the Department in this kind of effort.

The unit is attached to a regular Department of Public Welfare Agency which provides financial and social services to children who are recipients of AFDC grants. Not only does this regular office supply applicants for social services for the student unit, but its supervisor has good knowledge of the programs of the Department, and she and her staff are truly interested in welcoming and helping students. Within the Region itself the policy of the Department's involvement and contribution to education has been vigorously pursued by the Regional Administrator. These factors provided a framework within which the objectives for the Project in providing a learning experience in social work for the students could be met.

Our Lady of the Lake College (1000 students) placed five students in the unit for five hours a week, for 12 weeks. The objectives of the school were, in general, to provide experience within an agency whereby the student may become acquainted with the practice of social work. Using Tyler's learning levels of exposure, acquaintance, familiarity, mastery, and ability to apply (teach), the school agreed on a minimum learning at the acquaintance level, with a hoped-for span to the achievement of familiarity. The students were seniors with 12 to 15 hours of sociology and social welfare sequence courses completed. While in field experience they would also attend a seminar. The students were in the field 12 half days. They came at different times until about the middle of the semester, when they were able to combine their time (this was seen from the Agency point of view as their confirmation of the value to them of group conferences which could not otherwise be continued). Supervision was limited to these group meetings and helping with administrative problems.

These particular students were at first inarticulate and were unable to express their own desires regarding what they expected from the experience. They agreed to the suggestion made at the agency that they would expect to learn to visit and help a family who had requested aid, or was receiving financial aid and should be offered social services; to learn about and to use other agencies; to learn something about a minority culture; and to learn something about poverty. From their instructor at school they learned during a concurrent course on methods how to look at their experiences in terms of the situation, the concepts and methods applicable; and their was a constant flow of information between the field and this class.

The college field experience director and I discussed some results of the field experience in terms of our own expectations and those developing expectations of the students. We concluded that the students had become acquainted with some methodology and techniques; they had shown some ability to absorb many new experiences regarding poverty, people, minority culture, society, and interpersonal relationships. We felt the greatest development was this 'opening of the book' experience which gave the students a fairly free atmosphere in which to test their interest in the helping services and to integrate their expanding knowledge and experience. We were perhaps influenced by the similarity of the remarks of two students, one of whom found social welfare definitely not for her, while the other just as definitely had found her field of interest. Both were most grateful for the opportunity to experience 'what it is all about'.

The University of Texas Medical School, San Antonio, placed six students in the unit for four hours a week for eight weeks. The general objectives of this field experience for the students of Human Ecology are to provide opportunities for interpersonal encounters between medical students and people living in low-income neighborhoods as a means of giving the students opportunity for observation, development of interactional skills, and nurturing of attitudes of the healer. In order to maintain the medical focus the school provides a faculty member who attends the weekly group meetings at the unit. The requirements of the course were that the students have two families to visit and learn about, and for one must write a social study according to a form provided by the school. The faculty advisor, a psychiatrist, is active in other areas in the neighborhood and well-acquainted with the medical problems of poverty and of this culture.

As with the first group of students, these young medical students were given background information regarding the agency, the unit, the neighborhood, and expectations for them. They were vocal but had no expectations from the experience and, in fact, could not truly accept involvement in it. They were clinging to their medical role as rather separate from social problems. Although group supervision was employed also with these students, during the entire placement time they were free to arrive early or stay later to seek individual help from either the psychiatrist or the supervisor. The questions they asked concerned social services delivery systems in general, that of public welfare in particular, and the gaps in services which they were quick to perceive. They indicated that they wished to ask their school advisor questions about medical situations.

The last Agency day was partly spent in evaluation from each of us. The faculty advisor reviewed objectives in relation to the experiences the students had had. The students felt that the experience had not 'hurt them' but they failed to see especial value in it too. They resented being agency representatives without agency 'know-how' and they did not have the initial interest in social welfare to carry them through feelings of inadequacy. More than anything else they resented seeing difficult medical problems they could do nothing about, and people with medical problems who would not seek health care. They did feel they had learned something about poverty through seeing their clients in their homes. It seemed to be the students conception of their roles as physicians which was threatened by the placement and yet it was because of their tenacious grasp on this role that the services agency placement seemed most helpful from the point of view of faculty and agency. In a sense, the placement forced the students to look at their clients as people living in families within a social environment.

The field experience for undergraduates varies with the academic and life experiences they bring to the placement. The first group of students, both college and freshmen medical students, were exposed for the first time to poverty, a minority culture, housing, schools (administratively) social services systems and their clients. With the focus on giving services to public welfare clients, the students learned to give limited services, to see human needs, to be aware of the community of services and of themselves as broker in making these services available to families needing them. They showed some awareness of the interrelationships of government, industry, and welfare together with the complexity of providing services to fill the gaps which they became so vividly aware of as they tried to help the families.

The second group of students from Our Lady of the Lake all came to the placement with the same number of hours academic preparation and in addition all had had some experience working in outreach agencies. The second group of freshmen medical students came to the placement after one semester of field placement. Both groups had already had their initial experiences with the sight and feel of people of a minority group living in poverty and receiving helping services. They had also had some experience in providing services. The focus of both groups then turned naturally to developing more expertise in seeking needs and providing services but beyond this both groups showed much more awareness of the overall social factors involved in providing helping services in today's society. It was this group of medical students that we were able to bring to the point of considering the interdependency of the helping services, including medical services. This group, in their second placement, was able to see the value of learning to know the patient within his social environment. Comparably, this group of undergraduate students from Our Lady of the Lake has moved rapidly into ability to assess with the family its needs and problems; to begin planning time-limited feasible means of meeting needs and solving problems; and to acquire a real working knowledge of the community's services systems.

This comparison of the two sets of students may seem to point to a suggestion that the students profit by two placements, or at least a placement longer than the usual one semester. However a closer look at the actual content perceived and reactions noted by the students seems at this point at least to suggest rather that refinement of kinds of field experiences might be profitable for the students. The exposure of students to such phenomena as poverty, minority culture, services systems is exposure to sociological phenomena and might be combined with the learning of sociological methods of study, methods which more and more social workers are realizing they need. Within such a framework of knowledge students could go to their social welfare field experience with some understanding of the place in the community occupied by that particular services system, its objectives and its interrelationship with other institutions of the society.

Now for a summary of developments for field experience in DPW for undergraduates in other parts of Texas. In some of the small colleges in rural areas there are problems of the college creating innovative field experience for the students. This is true even where there are large cities within a 50-mile radius, since a social worker cannot realistically ignore his immediate environment. In these instances we are recommending and helping the colleges obtain the service of consultants who have much to offer. Sometimes these colleges want to combine locally developed programs with urban placements and we try as with the urban colleges and universities to develop Department of Public Welfare student placements.

Our Commissioner, Mr. Burton G. Hackney, through our Manpower Development Project Director, has advised all Regional Administrators of the Department's interest in and commitment to contributing to undergraduate social welfare education by providing field experience placements wherever possible. In Austin, three schools in consortium (the University of Texas, St. Edward's University, and Huston-Tillotson College) have a field experience unit at the Public Welfare Regional Office. Space, equipment, office supplies and records, utilities, are provided by the Department; the supervisor is supplied by the University of Texas; and field representatives from all three schools meet regularly to coordinate the experience with their school's teaching. In Waco undergraduate students from Baylor and Paul Quin College are in field placements and it is hoped that plans can be made for DPW placements for these students next fall. In Abilene, Hardin-Simmons College has two undergraduate students in DPW placements on a very good schedule of half a day, five days a week, one semester. The Abilene Colleges are now going into consortium with plans to share the field experience and seminars, and the role of DPW in this new approach will be developed this summer.

In San Antonio our special student unit has provided all opportunity needed for the present, but since it is a time-limited project we hope to develop more permanent and comprehensive plans within the Region along the lines of the rest of the State. It is also hoped that this Region will be active in the long-awaited consortium of the five colleges in the area.

In Houston plans are being made for a Public Welfare Department field experience placement for next fall. This will serve the needs of the University of Houston when its undergraduate sequence begins, Texas Southern University which uses several other agencies already, and Prairie View A & M which is anxious for an urban placement opportunity.

In Dallas field experience is provided in several different places within the Department of Public Welfare in a truly varied offering of field experience opportunities. Supervisors were chosen from volunteers - people who had expressed interest in the project. There are at present twenty-one students placed in the Dallas region, representing Texas Woman's College, Bishop College and East Texas State University at Commerce. The University of Texas at Arlington has its own undergraduate unit in the Department of Public Welfare. The University of Texas at El Paso is in its second year of providing field experience for undergraduate students. Last year the University used the DPW and, following its plan of rotating use of agencies, made no placements in DPW this year but will have placements next fall. Plans are being developed in other areas of the State: Edinburg, Lubbock, Beaumont.

Results for the department of Public Welfare through hiring of these students cannot really be estimated so soon, however the supervisors involved with field placements for undergraduate students are saying they want their students to remain in their regions as regular workers after graduation and the very valuable service the students give the Department in taking back to their respective schools a clear understanding of public welfare services is already being noted in the rise of the number of students requesting Public Welfare field experience placement.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE USE OF A COMPUTER AS A JUDICIAL DECISION AID

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THE PROBLEM

Presently, in business, the armed services, and elsewhere, computers are being used to make decisions on the basis of formulas and probability. It was perhaps inevitable that persons would consider using it as a decision aid in the judicial process.

At the University of Southern California, workers are currently attempting to develop a computer program which would enable a computer to act as a decision aid in the probation process at different decision points; for example, at intake, where the probation officer must decide whether to dismiss the probationer, file a petition, or place him on informal probation. When this computer system is in use, the probation officer would type in data on the probationer, and the computer would predict, (on the basis of probability from past cases and research) which alternative would be best from the standpoint of recidivism and seriousness of offense. It is then up to the probation officer to make the final decision.

It should be stressed that this project, named SIMBAD, which stands for, "Simulation as a Basis of Social Agent's Decisions", is still in its infant stages, and is being developed only for the juvenile probation aspect of the entire judicial system.[1] Also, this use of a computer is presented simply as a decision aid, not a final decision maker.

The problem with which this **present** research deals is to determine for the first time the attitude of an entire probation department toward such a project, along with the source of these attitudes, and the influence of factors such as age, sex, education, and experience.

THE RESEARCH

This research was performed with the use of an anonymous questionnaire given to all deputy and supervising probation officers in the Orange County, California Probation Department. To measure the attitudes toward this particular use of a computer, a special attitude scale was developed. The scale consisted of twenty statements regarding the use of a computer as a decision aid. Two examples would be: "Since justice is dealing with persons' lives, its decisions should never be computerized." or, "The computer is a practical basis for future planning". Half of these twenty statements were positive and half were nedative. The possible responses to each statement were as follows: agree strongly, agree, undecided, disagree, and disagree strongly. These statements were then preceeded by a paragraph describing the SIMBAD project, which formed the basis for responding to the scale. Through prior testing, it was determined that the scale had a split-half reliability of .85.

On December 4, the 179 probation officers received a questionnaire and a memo requesting that they complete and return the anonymous form, and separately return a name card indicating that they had done so. Sixteen days later, with the help of a second wave of questionnaires sent to those persons who had not origionally responded, 177 (or 99%) of the forms were returned.

The questionnaire consisted essentially of four parts. The first section dealt with a collection of facts concerning the respondents, such as age, sex, and years of experience as a probation officer. The second section measured the respondent's attitude toward the computer program. This section consisted of a paragraph describing the SIMBAD project and a series of twenty statements constituting the final computer attitude scale. The third section dealt with the origin of these attitudes, and asked whether the respondent's attitudes were developed basically in small groups, in large groups, or through the mass media. The final section of the questionnaire attempted to determine the respondent's estimate of the attitude of his associates toward the project.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Of the 177 forms returned, five were unusable, due to lack of answers, leaving 172 forms which were used to calculate the results. It would appear from the data that probation officers would favor this use of a computer in probation. A neutral, or undecided total response to the attitude scale would produce a total score of sixty. However, approximately eighty per cent of the respondents had total attitude scores of sixty or greater, leaving only approximately twenty per cent who disliked the proposal as stated in the questionnaire.

Regarding the estimated computer attitude of the associates of each respondent, the results are split. Fourty-eight per cent of the respondents felt that their associates would favor the project, while fifty-two per cent of the respondents estimated their associates would dislike the proposal. However, when the mean of the two groups is used as a cutting point between positive and negative, there is a significant (.001) positive correlation between the respondent's own attitude and the estimated attitude of his associates.

The majority (sixty-five percent) of the probation officers felt that their attitudes toward this project were developed in small groups, containing themselves and from one to four other persons. The next largest group (thirty per cent) felt their attitudes toward the project were developed through the mass media, with only five per cent basing their attitudes on large group meetings.

The variables of age, sex, years of experience, and education were correlated with the computer attitudes to determine if the respondents' computer attitude could be predicted on the basis of one or more of these variables. It was found that there was no relationship between their attitude toward the project ("computer attitude") and any of the variables.

CONCLUSION

When considering the introduction of a computer into probation work as a decision aid, these results indicate that the general concept will meet with acceptance when it is officially proposed. Furthermore, it appears that the sponsors who introduce this concept into a probation department should expect their resistance to come from a series of small groups of workers who agree among themselves that the project should be rejected. In addition, the sponsors should not expect the resistance to be marked by being of any particular age, sex, experience group, or educational group. Finally, it should be considered that this project is still in its infant stages, and much work is needed before it may be officially proposed on a practical basis.

FOOTNOTES

1. A.W. McEachern, Edward M. Taylor, J. Robert Newman, and Ann E. Ashford, "The Juvenile Probation System, Stimulation for Research and Decision Making", American Behavioral Scientist 11 (January-February 1968) pp. 1-45.

THE RELATION OF VARIATIONS IN HOMICIDE RATES TO VARIATIONS IN SEX RATIOS IN HOMICIDES AND HOMICIDE VICTIMS

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After observing that in several European countries the number of female victims of homicide tended to remain somewhat constant from year to year even though the annual number of homicides might fluctuate, and that the female percentage of people who commit homicide was high in countries with low homicide rates, the Finnish sociologist Veli Verkko stated, in 1951, two rules concerning homicides and homicide victims: "Distribution by sexes of victims of crimes against life in any country is always dependent on the frequency level of the crimes concerned,"[1] and ". . . the proportion by sexes in the crimes against life in a country is always dependent on the frequency of these crimes."[2] From each of these rules, he devised two laws, one static, one dynamic. Briefly summarized, the four laws state that in high homicide rate countries, a large proportion of both homicides and homicide victims will be male (and vice versa for low homicide rate countries) and that as the homicide rate increases, so will the male percentage of those who kill and who are killed increase. In the examples Verkko uses, he considers a high percentage of both female victims and female homicides to be anything above 18%, therefore a high percentage of male homicides and male homicide victims would be anything over 82%. He does not specify what homicide rate a country should have in order to be classed as one of high or low homicide frequency, but he does include Finland in the high homicide rate countries at a time when her homicide rate was 2.8.

This study has two purposes, the first of which is to determine whether homicide and homicide victim data for the U. S. support Verkko's four laws. Verkko did not use American data because homicide information for the entire United States was not available. It is still not available; in fact, the Uniform Crime Reports for 1968 includes data for areas of the U. S. that have only about 75% of the American population. Incomplete statistics notwithstanding, the first purpose of this paper is to determine whether or not the American data which we do have is consistent with Verkko's laws. This use of admittedly incomplete statistics seems less reprehensible than Verkko's use of statistics covering an entire nation while excluding from those statistics the data on negligent manslaughter and infanticide, neither of which can be assumed to be equally distributed between the sexes.

The second purpose of this study is to determine whether Verkko's laws can be modified or extended by relating them to geographic areas within a country rather than merely restricting them to entire countries. The Boston and Dallas standard metropolitan statistical areas were chosen for observation, not only because they are in different geographic (and possibly different cultural) areas, but also because the Boston area has, by the American standard, a low homicide rate, and the Dallas area has, by the same standard, a high homicide rate. By Verkko's definition, however, the U. S. and the Boston and Dallas areas are all areas of high homicide frequency, although there is a considerable difference among the rates of the three. Only the five year period of 1964 through 1968 could be studied, because all the necessary statistics for earlier years are not available. Appreciation to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for data which were not included in the Uniform Crime Reports, is acknowledged.

Specifically, the four following hypotheses, which represent both the static and dynamic versions of Verkko's laws are stated for investigation:

Hypothesis 1: The percentage of homicides who are male will be high in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston.

Hypothesis 2: The percentage of homicides who are male will increase in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston, as the homicide rate increases, and vice versa.

Hypothesis 3: The percentage of homicide victims who are male will be high in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston.

Hypothesis 4: The percentage of homicide victims who are male will increase in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston, when the homicide rate increases, and vice versa.

Verkko's standards for high percentage (82%) will be used.

Table I

Homicide Rates and Percentages of Homicides Who Are Male

BOSTON			U. S.			DALLAS		
Year	Hom Rate	% Male Hom.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Hom.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Hom.
1964	2.6	87.3	1964	4.8	84.5	1965	10.3	77.2
1966	2.6	94.1	1965	5.1	84.6	1967	11.1	75
1965	2.8	83.1	1966	5.6	84.7	1966	11.4	81.3
1967	3.2	83.9	1967	6.1	85.2	1964	12.7	65.2
1968	4.4	85.7	1968	6.8	85.2	1968	15.7	76.1
Pearson Correlation: -.45			Pearson Correlation: .93			Pearson Correlation: -.22		
Rank Order Corr: -.52			Rank Order Corr: .97			Rank Order Corr: -.30		

The data for the three areas in Table I are arranged from lowest homicide rate years to highest homicide rate years. Let us now look at these data in reference to hypothesis 1. This static law of homicides postulates that 82% or more of those committing homicide in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston, should be male. The Boston and U. S. data consistently support, while the Dallas data refute, the hypothesis. We can therefore accept the law as Verkko stated it; but we cannot modify it to generalize about any geographic area within a country when only the Boston data support the hypothesis. We must consequently reject hypothesis 1. It is also to be observed that although Dallas consistently has a higher homicide rate than Boston, it has a lower percentage of male homicides. If the modified law stated here as hypothesis were, in fact, law, then not only would the Dallas data support the hypothesis, but they should support it more obviously than the Boston data.

Hypothesis 2, the dynamic law of homicides, states that as the homicide rate increases, so will the percentage of homicides who are male, increase. The statistics for Dallas and Boston in Table I do not support the hypothesis, and it must therefore be rejected. The U. S. data, however consistently support the hypothesis. A correlation of .93 and a rank order correlation of .97 indicate a very high relation between variations in the homicide rate and variations in the sex ratio of those who commit homicide, and we can therefore accept Verkko's law. Although the U. S. data confirm Verkko's law, in the cases of Dallas and Boston, not only is there not a close relationship between increases in the homicide rate and increases in the percentage of male homicides, but that relationship is a negative one. If the Boston and Dallas data are valid, then nothing short of intensive analysis of individual homicide reports in the three areas could explain the disjunction between the U. S. data and the Boston and Dallas data.

Table II

Homicide Rates and Percentages of Homicide Victims Who Are Male

BOSTON			U. S.			DALLAS		
Year	Hom Rate	% Male Vict.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Vict.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Vict.
1964	2.6	73.6	1964	4.8	73.7	1965	10.3	84
1966	2.6	75.9	1965	5.1	74.5	1967	11.1	83
1965	2.8	78.9	1966	5.6	74.5	1966	11.4	81.3
1967	3.2	66.7	1967	6.1	75.4	1964	12.7	83.9
1968	4.4	81.9	1968	6.8	77.6	1968	15.7	84.5
Pearson Correlation: .41			Pearson Correlation: .95			Pearson Correlation: .31		
Rank Order Corr: .37			Rank Order Corr: .97			Rank Order Corr: .30		

Let us now examine Table II in relation to Hypotheses 3 and 4. Hypothesis 3, the static law of homicide victims, predicts that the percentage of homicide victims who are male will be above 82% for the U. S., Boston, and Dallas. Here the Dallas data support the hypothesis, but the U. S. and Boston data do not; in no single year of the five year period does either the U. S. or Boston have a male homicide victim percentage of 82, although Boston is very close to it in 1968. Not only is the third hypothesis rejected, but we must, on the basis of the U. S. data, also question Verkko's law. The victim data for Boston and the U. S., both high frequency homicide areas, are actually rather similar to the victim data from the low homicide rate countries of Prussia and Sweden during the period that Verkko used them for illustration. It is also interesting to observe that when the homicide rate of Boston in 1968 very nearly reached that of the U. S. in 1964, there was still an 8.2 difference in their percentages of male homicide victims.

Hypothesis 4, the dynamic law of homicide victims, states that as the homicide rate increases, so will the percentage of homicide victims that are male increase.

Hypothesis 1: The percentage of homicides who are male will be high in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston.

Hypothesis 2: The percentage of homicides who are male will increase in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston, as the homicide rate increases, and vice versa.

Hypothesis 3: The percentage of homicide victims who are male will be high in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston.

Hypothesis 4: The percentage of homicide victims who are male will increase in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston, when the homicide rate increases, and vice versa.

Verkko's standards for high percentage (82%) will be used.

Table I

Homicide Rates and Percentages of Homicides Who Are Male

BOSTON			U. S.			DALLAS		
Year	Hom Rate	% Male Hom.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Hom.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Hom.
1964	2.6	87.3	1964	4.8	84.5	1965	10.3	77.2
1966	2.6	94.1	1965	5.1	84.6	1967	11.1	75
1965	2.8	83.1	1966	5.6	84.7	1966	11.4	81.3
1967	3.2	83.9	1967	6.1	85.2	1964	12.7	65.2
1968	4.4	85.7	1968	6.8	85.2	1968	15.7	76.1
Pearson Correlation: -.45			Pearson Correlation: .93			Pearson Correlation: -.22		
Rank Order Corr: -.52			Rank Order Corr: .97			Rank Order Corr: -.30		

The data for the three areas in Table I are arranged from lowest homicide rate years to highest homicide rate years. Let us now look at these data in reference to hypothesis 1. This static law of homicides postulates that 82% or more of those committing homicide in the U. S., Dallas, and Boston, should be male. The Boston and U. S. data consistently support, while the Dallas data refute, the hypothesis. We can therefore accept the law as Verkko stated it; but we cannot modify it to generalize about any geographic area within a country when only the Boston data support the hypothesis. We must consequently reject hypothesis 1. It is also to be observed that although Dallas consistently has a higher homicide rate than Boston, it has a lower percentage of male homicides. If the modified law stated here as hypothesis were, in fact, law, then not only would the Dallas data support the hypothesis, but they should support it more obviously than the Boston data.

Hypothesis 2, the dynamic law of homicides, states that as the homicide rate increases, so will the percentage of homicides who are male, increase. The statistics for Dallas and Boston in Table I do not support the hypothesis, and it must therefore be rejected. The U. S. data, however consistently support the hypothesis. A correlation of .93 and a rank order correlation of .97 indicate a very high relation between variations in the homicide rate and variations in the sex ratio of those who commit homicide, and we can therefore accept Verkko's law. Although the U. S. data confirm Verkko's law, in the cases of Dallas and Boston, not only is there not a close relationship between increases in the homicide rate and increases in the percentage of male homicides, but that relationship is a negative one. If the Boston and Dallas data are valid, then nothing short of intensive analysis of individual homicide reports in the three areas could explain the disjunction between the U. S. data and the Boston and Dallas data.

Table II

Homicide Rates and Percentages of Homicide Victims Who Are Male

BOSTON			U. S.			DALLAS		
Year	Hom Rate	% Male Vict.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Vict.	Year	Hom Rate	% Male Vict.
1964	2.6	73.6	1964	4.8	73.7	1965	10.3	84
1966	2.6	75.9	1965	5.1	74.5	1967	11.1	83
1965	2.8	78.9	1966	5.6	74.5	1966	11.4	81.3
1967	3.2	66.7	1967	6.1	75.4	1964	12.7	83.9
1968	4.4	81.9	1968	6.8	77.6	1968	15.7	84.5
Pearson Correlation: .41			Pearson Correlation: .95			Pearson Correlation: .31		
Rank Order Corr: .37			Rank Order Corr: .97			Rank Order Corr: .30		

Let us now examine Table II in relation to Hypotheses 3 and 4. Hypothesis 3, the static law of homicide victims, predicts that the percentage of homicide victims who are male will be above 82% for the U. S., Boston, and Dallas. Here the Dallas data support the hypothesis, but the U. S. and Boston data do not; in no single year of the five year period does either the U. S. or Boston have a male homicide victim percentage of 82, although Boston is very close to it in 1968. Not only is the third hypothesis rejected, but we must, on the basis of the U. S. data, also question Verkko's law. The victim data for Boston and the U. S., both high frequency homicide areas, are actually rather similar to the victim data from the low homicide rate countries of Prussia and Sweden during the period that Verkko used them for illustration. It is also interesting to observe that when the homicide rate of Boston in 1968 very nearly reached that of the U. S. in 1964, there was still an 8.2 difference in their percentages of male homicide victims.

Hypothesis 4, the dynamic law of homicide victims, states that as the homicide rate increases, so will the percentage of homicide victims that are male increase.

The U. S. data rather consistently support the hypothesis, and the correlation of .95 and rank order correlation of .97 show a very high relation between variations in the homicide rate and variations in the percentage of victims that are male. Verkko's law is demonstrated by the U. S. data. However, the Boston and Dallas data only slightly and inconsistently support the hypothesis as stated, and we must therefore reject the notion that whatever validity the law has in relation to the U. S. applies equally to Boston or to Dallas.

In summary, the U. S. data are consistent with three of Verkko's laws. His only law not supported by U. S. data is the static law of homicide victims. When the laws are tested in relation to Boston and Dallas, none of the four laws is supported by evidence from both Dallas and Boston. In fact, the Boston data support only the static law of homicides and the Dallas data support only the static law of homicide victims.

Verkko's reporting of the regularities he observed in changes in sex ratios in homicides and homicide victims according to homicide rates would be more impressive if he had labelled them as something other than "laws" and if he had not offered an explanation for what he found. His use of the word "law," in which is implicit the expectation of a "When ..., then ..." invariable sequence of the independent variable's effect on the dependent variable, is in any case inconsistent with a socio-cultural explanation of crime, unless the conditions under which the variables are operating are stated. Like Sellin's "law" of crime statistics, Verkko's laws are predicated on certain assumptions about the society and the culture in which the crimes occur, and these assumptions involve characteristics of social organization and normative systems, both of which are changeable and which do change. Verkko's failure to recognize these assumptions and the culture-bound nature of his explanation allowed him to fall into a biological determinism trap not unlike that of early twentieth century behavioral scientists who were impressed with the explanatory utility of instinct theory. Verkko's explanation of the sex ratios in homicides and homicide victims as being due to the "different biological qualities of men and women" is separated by more than an ocean from Sutherland's explanation that differences in sex ratios from nation to nation are a function of the degree to which the status of women approaches that of men in a society. More directly related to Sutherland's theory of differential association and not incompatible with his explanation just given, is the empirically testable explanation postulated by this writer: as sexual distinction in cultural norms regarding the appropriateness of criminal behavior lessens and as the degree of internalization of those norms by women approaches that of men, the more nearly will women's crime rates approach men's crime rates.

FOOTNOTES

1. Veli Kaarle Verkko, Homicides and Suicides in Finland and their Dependence on National Character. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1951, p. 51.

2. Ibid., p. 55.

AN ANALYSIS OF INDIA'S CASTE SYSTEM: ORGANIZATION FUNCTION AND CHANGE

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INTRODUCTION

The caste system, almost synonymous with the Indian subcontient, has long been a subject of interest to the students of social science disciplines. Much has been written, on a descriptive level, to emphasize its characteristics and functions in order to illustrate the mechanics of its "closed system" of social mobility.

The attempt here is not to describe the origins of the caste system; rather, the objective lies in its function and development within a theoretical frame of reference. A priori to the caste system is the mythological aspect of the Hindu philosophy. In the Rig-Veda, which is a priestly recollection of the Hindu thought on creation, reference is made for four classes. These four classes, in the ascending order of hierarchy, are: (1) Sudra (serfs), (2) Vaisya (commons), (3) Ksatriya (warriors), and (4) Brahman (priests).

These castes are supposed to represent the hierarchy of status according to body features of the Hindu anthropomorphic god, with Brahman, or the priestly class, representing the mouth, and Sudras, or serfs, representing the feet of the being, and so forth.[1]

The above Rig-Veda version of the origins of the caste system has been a subject of controversy among scholars. Many students of the caste have indicated that Brahmans' analogies have been the results of their ethnocentric thoughts to place the Brahman caste as supreme. Others have argued that in the traditional Hindu thought, no form of caste differentiation existed.[2]

The importance of the caste system, in this analysis lies in two principles on which we have based our analysis. The two factors of concern are (1) the role of the caste system in the "division of labor," and (2) the normative pattern and the process of "legitimation" in the realm of authority and social organization.

An aspect of social processes at work, within the above context which needs clarification and special emphasis throughout, is the phenomenon of social change. As any culture or social system has changed through time, so has the caste system of India. The process of social change, as it encompasses the Indian society and more specifically the caste system is here studied and distinguished on two levels. First, there is the theoretical level of analysis. To establish consistency and a frame of reference, the "causation" theories of social change demonstrate a concrete basis of applicability. The emphasis is on "cultural determinism" and more specifically, Ogburn's distinction of material and non-material aspects of the culture. Secondly, changes within the caste system need to be attributed to certain causative or motivational factors which bring about the total social change processes. These factors, in this approach, are divided into "internal" and "external" motivations. By "internal" it is meant those changes that take place within the system as an evolutionary process, such as division of labor. In "external," the factors which are introduced from outside the culture or system are the motivational forces. An example of the external source of change in the case of India would be the colonization of the country by the British, and the impact which the British administration had upon the system. An internal change is demonstrated by the number of sub-castes which have evolved from the original four castes, yet are basically similar in ideology.

It should be emphasized at this point that the process of social change is of latent importance in this analysis. The basic objectives, as already mentioned, are to examine the occupational behavior--its dependence or correlation to the caste system and the normative pattern of organization within the castes--the processes of legitimation. The question of "authority" is basic for an analysis of the latter objective as "division of labor" is to the former.

CASTE: DIVISION OF LABOR

When debate on the origins and traditional aspects of the caste system is put aside, then the functional aspect of the system becomes significant. To study the function of a society certain variables need to be considered in order to arrive at a systematic analysis. The basic questions that are imposed as one attempts to study a social system fall into rather abstract and generalized patterns:

1) What makes a society?
2) What comprises life within the society or culture?
3) Upon what does the functioning of a culture depend?
4) How does stratification occur?

By examining the above questions a better understanding of the given system is achieved.

Let us consider the question of what makes a society. Ralph Linton in his Study of Man,[3] regards society as an organization of individuals. He distinguishes between a society and a social system by pointing out that a social system is an organization of ideas. Such distinction does not seem necessary, for our purposes, since the concern is with the total structure. It does seem highly imporbable to make a workable distinction between the society and the social system when the functions of a group are studied. A better analsis of this account is put forth by functionalist Radcliffe-Brown in his Natural Science of Society as he states:

> In a social system the entities are individual human beings, in certain relations, which are differentiated from and isolated from all other relations in the universe. The individuals exist as units, but also, considered through time, are each characterized by a set of related acts of behavior which themselves constitute a system.[4]

Using this approach, then: "What comprises life within a society or culture?. An approximate and simplified answer to this question may lie in the fact that a satisfactory compromise is needed between individual and societal needs in order for the society and individuals to perpetuate. This answer tends to satisfy both poles of the continuum, be it a highly individualistic society or a "state minded" society such as the one which Marx advocated.

Upon what, then, does the "functioning of the culture depend?" The idea of "reciprocity" which was put forth by Linton seems satisfactory.[5] In reciprocity, lie the origins of roles and statuses, and eventually classes. This seems in accordance with Durkheim's concept on "division of labor" and hence, specialization.

Let us now apply the above discussion to the Indian system of organization, or more specifically, the caste system. The point here is not to show whether the above definitions of social systems are workable or not. Rather, the concern is with the functionality of the total system. Keeping in mind that no parts of the system religious, economical, or political, are independent of each other, the following is an attempt to illustrate the functionality of the caste system on a status and role determining basis. The focal point here in essence, is division of labor. This aspect is explicitly illustrated by Andre Beteille as he points out:

> Interaction between castes is in evidence most clearly in the sphere of economic activities. The Hindu scriptures, in fact, assign different activities to the different sections of the society--prayer, worship, and religious instruction to the Brahmin; warfare to the Kshatriya; commerce and husbancry to the Vaishya, and service to the Shudra. The harmonious working of the social system is made dependent on each other's co-operating with the others in the performance of its appropriated activities.[6]

Beyond a purely economic aspect of analysis, the whole society and for that matter, the castes, need to be coordinated on a more general level. As Warner, in his Durkheimian approach, indicates:

> . . .To maintain itself, the society must coordinate the efforts of all its members into common enterprise necessary for the preservation of the group, and it must solidify and integrate all the enterprises into a working whole.[7]

The "working whole" of the Indian society, particularly for purposes of maintenence and organization, depends heavily on the caste system. The ascribed status of the caste members goes beyond occupational differentiation, however, as B.S. Ghurye indicates:

> It was not only the moral restraints and the social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation, but also the restriction put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings.[8]

A significant point inherent in this process of organization is the type of authority that binds the caste members and the castes. The type of authority mainfest in the organization of castes and the behavior of the caste members resembles what Weber calls "traditional" authority. Here authority measn "the probability that a specific command will be obeyed."[9]

What are the bases of this sacred social order that eventually define "rightness" in the process of legitimation? Let us for now, as a passing note, mention the significance of the normative pattern--the values--in their process of function through time (specialization). This process is the core of the analysis that follows. However, the question at hand here is the effects of the normative pattern upon "division of labor" in a caste culture and not the question of caste and "authority" that depends upon the values.

The caste system has survived at least three thousand years, since Vedic times.[10] Throughout this period there have been internal and external factors affecting the system, molding and adapting the structure to the relative need of the society, and eventually leading to the present system.

From an evolutionary point of view, specialization has had to take place basically because larger populations have been able to survive and reproduce. For this specialization to occur, there is need for differentiation of roles and statuses and their organization. These differentiation and organization processes depend upon the values that are existing in a society and their already established patterns of organization. The caste system, with organization as an implicit factor, has served as the controlling variable upon this process of differentiation and division of labor. The traditional authority, in this sense, has been vested and distributed among castes to the degree that many of the "sub-castes" are nearly representing an occupational or a specialized group of families in their entirety. The role of the caste from this point of view of organization is two dimensional:

> (1) Division of the total societies into explicit castes with almost non-existing mobility among castes for purposes of strong social control and also socialization. This tends to be implicit in nature since the Hindu thought portrays the castes as sacred and mystic in origin, depending upon the religious belief.
> (2) The internal consistency between the caste members and their relative position within the caste group according to the traditional values which they, in turn, also depend upon the Hindu concept of "harmony" within the universe.

The role of the caste, then, in the process of division of labor or specialization, has been one of facilitating and predetermined disbribution of the population into ascribed status groups. With no mobility allowed among the castes as such, mobility is one step removed down the line of organization to the caste group. This is indeed an effective method of social control and consistency which, due to its nature, resists social changes to the extent that the change is not dynamic. The designated statuses in large caste groups are subdivided further, following the same pattern of caste differentiation, into sub-castes and even extended kin-groups that belong to similar status-groups that perform similar duties. As Karve indicates, "Caste can be defined as an extended in-group."[11] Karve's definition of caste in modern Indian society seems to reflect the extreme outgrowth of the original caste concept through specialization.

The process of change involved here, with reference to Ogburn's scheme, represents the economical changes geared to "mass survival" of the group, which in turn affects the other aspects of the culture and specifically the nature of the caste. Briefly, the specialization in production requires new forms of organization to come about, and the model of organization on this level is the caste, so castes in accordance become spceialized entities and groups.

On an external level, or the changes that are introduced from a different culture, the effects have not been very significant. How much, for example, did the British instigate change in India during their colonial period, with reference to the caste system? With the exception of a percentage of the population in the urban centers, the answer seems to be that no change took place with any significance, particularly in the caste organization.

Why does the caste system or the old order of India survive? The answer, we believe, lies in the values and the normative pattern of behavior, depending in turn upon the traditional Hindu thought and mythology.

INDIAN THOUGHT

Indian thought and a familiarity with some of its basic values and outlooks on life, is a prerequisite to an understanding of the values which are and have been prevalent in the Indian tradition. The basic nature of Indian thought is not well known in the west and most parts of the world. The ideas are studied and analyzed, but most often the methodology used in these investigations is not capable of grasping its real essence. The fallacy of attempting to study Indian thought through "scientific" mehtods which are based on "western thought" and technology follows the analysis which involves the study of religion. Most scholars agree that the supernatural realm of religion cannot be approached from a scientific point of view due to the reason, basically, that religion in that sense is "superempirical." Therefore, an understanding of certain concepts, through the "rational" and "logical" aspects of scientific thought which is predominant in the west, may be doomed to failure when investigating Indian thought. Albert Schweitzer, in his analysis of Indian Thought and its Development, makes reference to this point. He holds that the western view of the world is that of "life affirmation," while Indian thought is based on "world and life negation." By "life affirmation," Schweitzer holds that:

> Man regards existence as he experiences it in himself and it has developed in the world as something of value per se and accordingly strives to let it reach perfection in himself, whilst within his own sphere of influence he endeavors to preserve and further it.[12]

On the other hand, Indian thought differs from western thought, as Schweitzer puts it:

> World and life negation on the other hand consists in his (man's) regarding existence as he experiences it in himself and as it is developed in the world as something meaningless and sorrowful, and he resolves accordingly (a) to bring life to a standstill in himself by mortifying his will-to-live, and (b) to renounce all activity which aims at improvement of conditions of life in the world.[13]

The distinction made by Schweitzer becomes more apparent and significant as one simply examines man's relation to nature in the prevailing Indian thought and organization as opposed to that of a western outlook.

The Indian system represents and upholds harmony in nature with man's role being that of accepting his position as a part of this harmonious whole. The indivisual, then, takes his place within his culture as a matter of fact phenomenon. This concept is readily noticed in the structure of the caste and castes, and the western observer becomes puzzled by why not a movement toward change on the part of the oppressed or lower castes. Needless to say, the western observer is projecting his thoughts (which are the product of his own orientation and beliefs) which Schweitzer calls "life affirmation," to the Indian orientation, which is otherwise.

It should be noted here, however, that the connotation of Indian thought should not be taken as existing in an absolute form in India. The recent impacts of western industrialization are in a sense contradictory to the basic Indian thought, and there seems to be a change taking place, predominantly in urbanized areas, within the traditional way of thought. But the question that is raised here is this: are these changes indicative of a changing pattern of thought and organization (on normative basis), or are they merely the "westernized" version of the same old order? Let us examine it from a value point of view, taking into consideration the normative pattern.

THE NORMATIVE PATTERN AND THE PROCESS OF LEGITIMATION

As was already mentioned, the type of legitimate rule evidenced in the Indian structure is that of estate in the realm of traditional authority, according to Max Weber. In differentiating between the patriarchal and estate rule in traditional authority, Weber points out:

> . . .all estate rule, based upon more or less stable appropriation of administrative power, stands closer to legal authority as the guarantees surrounding the prerogative of the priviledge assume the form of special "rights"--a result of the division of power among estates.[14]

The above approach stands in accordance with the structure and the theoretical basis of the caste system. From this short summary we may conclude that legitimation, or acceptance, finds its roots in a traditional fram of reference. The significance of "traditionalism" needs to be emphasized as an attempt is made toward the analysis of the normative pattern of behavior and the "social order" in a caste community.

Earlier, the distinction of "Indian thought" was illustrated. This thought, inherent in Indian tradition, governs the people's behavior and the social institutions. In short, what has been reffered to as "thought" can be equated to the sociological concept of "norms." The prevalence of "Indian thought" through many thousands of years implicitly indicated certain factors about the normative patterns of the caste system. To point out these factors, let us use Landbecker's approach to group intergration and maintenance processes. Landecker's scheme consists of four factors upon which group maintenance and integration depends:

1) Consistency among the standards that guide people's conduct.
2) Conformity in conduct to these standards.
3) Extensive communication among group members.
4) Reciprocal rendering of differentiated services--(functional integration).[15]

When examining a caste group, many castes in a community, the relationships of individuals to each other, or in summary, a given social order in India, Landecker's scheme is evidenced in an extreme aspect. The four criteria mentioned above are apparent in a caste system more than in any other form of organization. Here again Indian thought or normative pattern is based upon a concept of harmony that brings about a high degree of internal consistency. The position of the individual in his group, the larger caste, the total culture, and the total universe is not the important factor in their thought. The anthropocentric concept of the individual is non-existing in the normative pattern. The emphasis is upon the harmony of the system for the time being. This world, according to the Indian thought, is temporary for the individual and one of many worlds.

Parson's analysis of the normative pattern in the United States with reference to stratification may be useful here for purposes of clarification. He holds that "self-respect" is a significant factor in stratification and this self-respect depends upon the "moral norms" which the individual in the first place approves of.[16] Parson's scheme, if applied to the caste and social order of India, would not be operative, although it definitely has application in any western culture. The reasons for the inapplicability of this concept in India, in the final analysis, go back to Schweitzer's dichotomy which in Parson's analogy depends on "moral norms." While Parson's concepts is based upon the individual 's self respect depending on the normative pattern, the concepts of the individual's self respect and the normative pattern have to become one factor, or a unity of the two has to be conceivable if the theory is to be formulated in accordance to the Indian normative system.

The reinforcement of the values in India has been continuous and prolonged due to the nature of the caste system itself. As Eisenstadt points out, it is ". . .probably the only complex and highly differentiated civilization that has maintained its cultural integrity without being tied to any particular political framework."[17] Eisenstadt believes the reason for India's cultural maintenance and lack of revoluntionary change to be "autonomy" of different groups in their organizational and institutional patterns. This observation seems to be in accordance with what has been said, but we believe the reason goes beyond Eisenstadts's point. The crux of this maintenance of the system on such a complex order seems to be in the value system and normative pattern of the Indian culture. The "rigidity" of castes when compared to classes in most other societies, with no such consciousness of the lower groups as being oppressed, tends to support this hypothesis.

As was noted already, the internal changes have been on specialization levels and in accordance with the normative pattern. External attempts for change have not been successful in most cases. An interesting factor related to the external aspects of change is that these attempts for change from outside, once reached India, have changed themselves and become incorporated within the Indian culture. The presence of castes among Islamic Christian communities is a minifestation of this.

As a conclusion, Professor Brown's comments in Class and Cultural Transitions in India are appropriate:

> All these things change (parts of culture). Yet one--or at least I--cannot help feeling that India is characteristically Indian and not anything else. Perhaps the enduring element, which has animated the civilization for so long, is tolerance, a tolerance of the new, the unusual, and the different, a capacity to reshape itself in changing conditions, a quickness of comprehension and a willingness to seek for new solutions to new problems.[18]

FOOTNOTES

1. Norman W. Bronw "Class and Cultural Transition in India," Traditional India, Structure and Change. Edited by Milton Singer (Philadelphia; American Folklore Society, 1959).
2. Ibid, pp. 35-39.
3. Ralph Linton, Study of Man, (New York: Appleton, 1960).
4. Radcliffe-Brown, A Natural Science of Society, (Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958), p.43.
5. Linton, Ibid, p.103.
6. Andre Beteille, Caste, Class, and Power, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1965), p. 99.
7. W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class In America, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1960).
8. G.S. Ghurye, Caste, Class and Occupation, (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1961), p. 15.
9. Max Weber, "The Three Types of Legitimate Rule," Complex Organization Edited by A. Etzioni, (New York: Holt and Rinehart, 1966), pp. 4-14.
10. Ghurye, Ibid, p. 7.
11. Irwati, Karve, Kinship Organization in India, (Bombay: Asian Publishing House, 1965), p. 5.
12. Albert Schweitzer, Indian Thought and its Development, (Boston: The Bacon Press, 1936), p. 1.
13. Ibid.
14. Weber, Ibid, p. 10.
15. W. S. Landecker, Types of Intergration and Their Measurement," American Journal of Sociology 56, (January, 1951) p. 332.
16. Talcot Parsons, The Social System, (Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951).
17. S. N. Eisenstadt, "Social Transformation in Modernization," American Sociological Review 30, (1965) , pp. 659-73.

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SELF-CONCEPT AND NEIGHBORING IN AN APARTMENT COMPLEX*

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Statements about the nature of self-concept are numerous and varied in the literature of symbolic interaction in particular and social psychology in general (Mead, 1934; Cooley, 1922). The choice of a measure of self-concept for this reasearch was dictated in part by the relatively ubiquitous nature of the Twenty Statements Test. Although most measures in the behavioral sciences tend to appear in the literature only once and then drop from sight, the TST has had a wide and varied usage over the last fifteen years (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954). Neither its application nor its interpretation has been very consistent but it comes closer to being the "standard" measure of self-concept than any other approach.

Self-concept represents an integral part of the personality; a part which comes into play when the individual engages in interaction with other individuals. It was deemed appropriate to measure interpersonal relations through sociometric choice. The interpersonal attractions and repulsions measured by the sociogram play a very real part in the successes and failures of the person responding to it (Bonney, 1960:258). Such experiences in the life of the individual are reflected in his perception of himself and, therefore, have relevance to self-concept. As indicated by Mead (1934) and Cooley (1922), one draws upon his experiences with others for his perception of himself.

An elaboration on the TST scoring procedure (McPartland and Cumming, 1958; Manual For The Twenty Statement Problem, 1965; Hartley, 1968) divides responses into four categories, designating the respondents as A-mode, B-mode, C-mode or D-mode. The A-responses are physically oriented; B-responses are position-oriented; C-responses are interaction-oriented; and, D-responses are diffused. A-mode and D-mode self-concepts are relatively rare in samples of normal adults (McPartland and Cumming, 1958:25) whereas B-mode and C-mode patterns occur with greater frequency. It was considered important to identify cases in which the balance or near balance of responses was between B-mode and C-mode; therefore, when the number of B-responses was within one of the number of C-responses and no other response category was equal or greater, the questionnaire was designated as BC-mode.

The validity of sociometric scores rests on the assumption that sociometric choices reflect the kind of social interaction in which the respondent would at least like to engage (Bonney and Fessenden, 1955:6-7) and that such choices are associated with other measures of personal-social adjustment (Scandrette, 1953). The primary interpretation of the sociometric data was expressed in terms of number of choices made and number recieved.

Hypotheses:

1. People who tend toward a balance between B-mode and C-mode will receive more choices than people who manifest either of these patterns exclusively.
2. The various modes will rank in the following order on choices made, "BC", "C", "B", "A" and "D" with BC-mode people making the most choices.

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*The writer would like to express his thanks to Louis Zurcher who acted as instigator and "devil's advocate" in formulating the research design; and to Donna Owens who acted as research assistant and was instrumental in getting access to the subjects.

3. The various modes will rank in the following order on choices received, "BC", "C", "B", "A" and "D" with BC-mode people receiving the most choices.
4. B-mode people will be chosen more often on questions 1 and 2 than on questions 4 and 5.
5. C-mode people will be chosen more often on questions 4 and 5 than on questions 1 and 2.
6. B-mode and C-mode people will choose those of their own mode more frequently than any other mode.
7. A-mode and D-mode people will not choose those of their own mode more frequently than any other mode.

Procedure

With a view to the limitations of the sociogram the subjects chosen were all residents of a single apartment complex. The total number of residents in the apartment complex was in excess of 200 but the physical arrangement of the apartments was such that two smaller sections of apartments were separated from the central area and from each other by two parking lots and a city street. It was decided to use only residents of the central area because it represented the largest single cohesive unit. Most of the residents of the complex were unmarried females with the bulk of these concentrated in the area studied. The few apartments occupied by unmarried males in the area were eliminated since their number seemed insuffecent to yield meaningful results. The sample used, therefore, was very homogeneous. Most of the subjects were college students between the ages of 20 and 25 and had lived in the apartment complex less than two years. It was not possible to choose respondents at random from a larger number of people living in several apartments since the use of the sociogram called for a specific set of people from which each respondent could make her choices.

Each respondent was contacted at home by either the researcher or research assistant. The instructions on the TST were pointed out to each respondent. "There are 20 numbered spaces on this sheet. Just write 20 different things about yourself in the spaces. Don't worry about how important they are or the order you put them in. Just write the first twenty answers you think of to the question: WHO AM I ?" (Manual For The Twenty Statements Problem, 1965). The numbers one through twenty appeared below the instructions with no other guidelines as to the nature of the responses desired. Respondents were told to take only six minutes on the first page; however, the time limit was adjusted in the case of interruptions. In response to any questions about the nature of the responses desired the respondents were told to put anything they thought answered that question about themselves.

As the respondents finished the TST they were told to look at the next two pages. The five questions on the sociogram were pointed out and they were handed a list of the one hundred and five girls, ordered by apartment number, who had been selected as subjects. The respondents were told to read each question and respond with the names and apartment numbers of as many girls from the list as they wished. They were asked not to choose their own roommates or people who did not appear on the list.

Of the 105 girls on the list 90 completed the questionnaire, 12 were never at home when called upon and three had moved from their apartments. There were no refusals and all 90 subjects contacted completed the questionnaire without apparent difficulty.

The responses on each TST were coded using the four categories of response previously described. Each respondent was assigned to one of five modal categories with the additional category being the balance between B-mode and C-mode or BC-mode. Most respondents were easily assigned to one of the five categories with the exception of four who had unclear response patterns.

The sociometric questions used were ordered from one to five with question one deemed as envolving the least personal kind of association and question five the most personal. Although the order of these questions might not hold for all populations the choice of questions and the order in which they appear was based on informal interviews with several of the residents of the apartment complex and on observation of the kind of interaction which usually took place among the neighbors. The questions, therefore, range from those which are oriented toward the activity in question to those which are oriented more toward personal association than the activity involved.

In reviewing the sociometric data, choices were tabulated by mode of respondent and mode of person chosen. In addition each choice was identified by the number of the sociometric question for which it was a response. In this manner each sociometric choice could be identified as belonging in one of one hundred twenty-five possible categories.

Results

There was a heavy concentration of C-mode people in the sample population. The very small number of A-mode and D-mode people is to be expected, but the shortage of such people makes comparisons between them and other modes very questionable. Such comparisons are all the more questionable since one of the four D-modes and all three of the A-modes were placed in their respective categories because they represented an "unclear" combination of more than one mode. It should be noted that BC-modes were more numerous than both A-mode and D-mode despite the fact that it too represents an "unclear" combination of modes.

The BC-mode represents a refinement in the TST scoring procedure and, thus, was accorded particular attention in hypothesis 1. The mean number of choices received by BC-modes was considerably higher than those received by either B-modes or C-modes exclusively. The differences between the respective means are significant (P .05), and hypothesis 1 is not rejected. Not only do BC-modes receive more choices from their neighbors, but they also choose more people. The comparison between BC-mode and B-mode and C-mode respectively is almost identical for choices received and choices made.

The ranking of modes on the basis of choices made was as predicted in hypothesis 2; therefore, it is not rejected. The ranking of modes on choices received was not exactly as predicted in hypothesis 3; however, the pattern was very close. Hypothesis 3 is not rejected. It was predicted in hypothesis 4 that B-mode people would be chosen more often on the first two questions than on the last two. A counter-prediction was made in hypothesis 5, to the effect that C-mode people would be chosen more often on the last two questions than on the first two. B-mode people did, in fact, receive more choices on the first two questions therefore, the prediction in hypothesis 4 is borne out. C-mode people however, were chosen more often on the first two questions rather than the last two. This should be sufficent to reject hypothesis 5; however, further consideration of the data indicates that for each mode the number choices was greater for questions 1 and 2 than for questions 4 and 5. Whether the differences between choices received on questions 1 and 2 and choices received on questions 4 and 5 is due to differences in the nature of the questions or to the fact that respondents are likely to make more choices on the first questions than on the last ones is not readily apparent, It does seem clear, however, that such differences are not connected to differences in self-concept.

Information on sociometric choices divided by mode of respondent and mode of chosen person offers a tentative test of hypotheses 6 and 7. The only pattern which emerges, however, is the general one noted previously of BC-modes receiving more choices. Hypotheses 6 and 7 must be rejected on the strength of the data.

Table 1. Choices Received Per Person In Each Modal Category
By Mode Of Choice And Mode Of Respondent

Mode of	Mode of Respondent				
Choice	A	B	BC	C	D
A	1.33	0	3.33	6.33	0
B	0.18	2.76	1.18	8.18	1.77
BC	0.50	3.25	3.13	17.88	0.63
C	0.62	3.31	2.62	12.07	0.52
D	0.50	3.50	1.50	10.50	0

Discussion and Summary

From the standpoint of methodology perhaps the most valuable aspect of this resear is the application of the TST and the sociogram to subjects living in relatively close contact with one another. To be sure too many sociologists and psychologist spend their time studying college students and white rats while ignoring "real people". This research does not escape the limitation of using college students, but at least they are removed from the captive maze of the classroom and studied under different conditions. All too often the sociogram is used in a classroom situation on the assumption that this is a face-to-face relationship in which the subjects have had ample opportunity to get to know one another. In most classrooms above the elementary school level this is simply not true. There is no claim that each of the 90 subjects studied knows every other subject, but given an apartment complex in which most of the residents are very much alike the opportunities for contact and evaluation are numerous.

The utilization of the BC-mode as a refinement of the TST scoring procedure points out a severe limitation of the TST itself. With only four categories, of which two contain the bulk of normal adults, the people who fall into any one category are likely to vary quite widely. Although the major distinction made in this research between the BC-mode and other modes was in terms of interpersonal relatic ships there exists the possibility that BC-mode people differ in many other ways. There is a need for much more refinement in the TST scoring procedure.

An extensive revision of the research design would offer opportunities to clearify some of the uncertainty about hypotheses 4 and 5. It would certainly be necessary to control for the order of questions on the sociogram and to strengthen the validity of the relative value attributed to those questions. Similar revisions or even a more extensive analysis of existing data should answer some of the questions about the relative attractiveness of the subjects to people of their own mode.

The results of this research may not be directly relevant to interpersonal relationships among a more representative population, but they do offer some directions for further application of this approach. Both the TST and the sociogram can be valuable measures if their limitations are recognized and controlled.

One rather surprizing factor which has emerged is the extent of the interaction among the apartment residents. These people are not the anonymous, heterogeneous, urban apartment dwellers of popular conception. They know one another and interact with one another. Certainly they are subject to pressures and apprehensions as are all college students, and their apartment complex is not always a comfortable "nest" of close friends, but they do seem to derive some support from their neighbors.

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REBELLION IN MINIATURE:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRISON RIOT

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Social scientists have long been attracted to the study of revolution. The most extreme manifestation of popular dissatisfaction with the existing order, and a graphic example of social disorganization, rebellion against generally recognized authority has periodically rocked all major cultures. While a great deal of theoretical investigation concerning the area of revolution has occurred, relatively little in the way of concrete and clearly defined analysis has been accomplished. The inquiry which follows is an effort to investigate one particular and quite distinctive form of overt social unrest--the prison riot. Naturally, the unique nature of the setting and the unusual character of participants prevent an institutional disturbance from fully reflecting violent outbreaks in the general society. Prison is a special kind of subculture, operating under conditions far different from those imposed on parallel elements, but patterns resulting in mass violence within a correctional institution may well have sympathetic currents operating in a more typical society.

To many prison life might seem to be made of boredom and monotony. But this tedium is the facade of a culture seething with necessary repression and constant internal crisis, as is true of most modern societies. Minor disorders and disciplinary infractions are so routine in correctional institutions that they attract little attention, within or without the prison. On occasion, however, a major disruption occurs; through a resort to mass violence the inmates openly rebel against their way of life; a prison riot begins and suddenly attention may be drawn to one of the most extreme forms of social disorganization. Disregarding the thousands of local jails and lockups, there are approximately 300 major places of confinement in the United States today. Some thirty of these are operated by Federal authority. Of the total number, about 40% are designed for juveniles. Perhaps one in ten is used for female inmates. Currently, over 250,000 people are in confinement, and fully 150,000 of them have been incarcerated at least once before.[1]

The typical inmate does not meet the usual public image of a "criminal." An average prisoner today is in his twenties, a member of some minority group, of average intelligence, but with relatively little formal education. His background is probably one of urban semipoverty and the offense which led to his commitment is likely of a lesser type. Murderers and rapists are rare in prison; most inmates are guilty of crime against property rather than the person, and many are victims of social problems such as alcoholism, drug addiction, and sexual perversion. Fully 95% of all inmates will eventually be released; some 3,000,000 Americans have served "time." Although formal sentences are often quite lengthy, the average period of confinement is comparatively short. A typical juvenile offender will be released in a few months while an adult prisoner may stay from two to three years. Despite the rather pathetic conditions of those in custody, one must not underemphasize the diverse and potentially explosive nature of the collective inmate population.

In physical structure prisons range from the traditional walled fortress to attractive small facilities scattered on landscaped and unfenced areas.

The fundamental purpose may be interpreted as retribution, deterrence, isolation, or rehabilitation; but the basic tasks are always similar. Gresham M. Sykes describes these primary objectives as: (1) custody, (2) internal order, (3) self-maintenance, (4) punishment, and (5) reform.[2] The order of the latter three goals varies in different institutions, but the former two are usually regarded as paramount, and they serve as keys to any interpretation of the prison community. Authorities are in agreement that control is a primary requisite for the implementation of other programs.

In social and political structure the prison is an example of extreme totalitarian stratification. Formal self-government is completely denied except in rare experiments or where inmate grievance committees are permitted. Even in these instances the basic form is starkly authoritarian by virtue of ordinary laws reinforced with institutional rules. Since the maintenance of internal discipline is properly regarded as crucial, most prisons demand conformance to rigid standards: no gazing at visiotrs, approach officers only after requesting permission, talking in small groups only during specific periods, etc. While such requirements are relaxed in modern "therapeutic communities," the power of the ruler--the official--is still paramount.

As most inmates regard themselves as socially wronged, hostility toward administrators is normal. A similarity to the reaction of a "captive people" is obvious, with parallel social developments. For example, revolt within a colony, a newly conquered territory, or a "puppet" state closely corresponds in behavioral terms to an ordinary prison riot. While the multiple purposes of a modern prison require a ratio of at least one employee to every four inmates, the official is often outnumbered by twenty or more to one at a given time. Consequently, the rendition of prompt obedience is considered essential.

Beneath the surface of authoritarian controls lies the mass of a prison's community, the inmates' own society. For an ordinary citizen the simple deprivation of liberty is only the first of many losses encountered when entering confinement. He is stripped of material possessions, deprived of heterosexual relations, and surrenders virtually all of his personal security. He finds himself an unwilling part of a subcultural environment with economic and sexual norms far different from those of the outside world. In some institutions 10% of the inmates are habituated homosexuals; the proportion of those temporarily perverted is far higher and accounts for many minor disorders. Within these subcultures exist political and economic hierarchies supported by customs and folkways fundamental to all American confinement systems. Having adapted to restrictions of liberty and the prison's internal social structure the inmate must also adjust to the monotony of institutional routine. Repetitious meals, unending custodial counts, many hours with nothing to do--these are the psychological walls of the prison, and they often serve as foundations for incipient disturbance and planned revolt.

In 1936 Sanford Bates identified four major areas coducive to institutional unrest. The first is the problem of overcrowding which leads to cramped living conditions, lack of individual privacy, and, in most instances, fewer privileges with little individual attention. Second, idleness among inmates, still common in many places of confinement, provides an opportunity for discontent to fester into rebellion. A third cause of resentment is the general feeling of personal injustice maintained by prisoners; this is related to long sentences, limited use of probation and parole, discrimination in court and confinement with concurrent attitudes of despair or desperation. The fourth and final difficulty is the personality of discouraged and unqualified prison officers with resultant needlessly harsh discipline, brutality, and favoritism shown certain inmates.[3] These fundamental causative areas are reinforced by a lack of communication between authorities and prisoners, the presence of sociopaths within the institution, a failure to properly classify and assign the newly confined, and the breakdown of traditional ties with family and friends.

Penal rebellions occur in "good" as well as "bad" prisons, and while minimum security institutions with thoroughly screened inmates generally have promising records, older places of confinement attempting reform have witnessed some of the worst riots. Indeed, there is evidence that efforts at improvement of conditions can be instrumental in the fomentation of violent social disorder. Under extreme authoritarianism the personality and practices of formal management become of great importance. What might appear to be a trivial change can cause tension and start in motion an avalanche of social reaction. A rhythm of dissatisfaction and disorder may begin which, like soldiers marching in step, can shake and then suddenly collapse an apparently rigid structure.

James C. Davies properly indicated that the dissatisfied state of mind produces revolution.[4] Applied to the specific problems of prison riots such theories yield interesting results. Briefly, rising expectation followed by frustration leads to unrest. Rebellion is unlikely either where continued opportunity to satisfy new hopes exists or where there is no promise or period of increasing expectations. A survey of penal disorders adds credibility to Davies' thesis; most of the major institutional rebellions appear to have taken place in an atmosphere of recently reduced aspirations.

Ironically, the one things most clearly designed to handle riot, tightened discipline, often appears to prompt additional resistance from the inmates. A prelude to institutional revolt takes the form of heightened tension and mounting unrest. The natural tendency of authorities is to increase control and utilize repressive measures. Inmates react to further restrictions with growing dissatisfaction and the stage is set for a cyclical development, perhaps extending in time for several months, leading to violent mass demonstration against the management.

A significant factor in the development of prison disorders has been identified in the weakening of informal means of social control. The inmate culture, under stable conditions, tends to support general order. Rebellion is recognized as futile and the cause of even more restrictions. The usual inmate elite occupy, in most prisons, a strategic position tying management to the mass of those confined; through them services for individuals are acquired, grievances are made known, and rewards are distributed. In some institutions these key roles are filled by trustees, but informally recognized leaders usually have considerable power within their groups. The most obvious form of inmate authority occurs when prisoners are themselves used as guards. This practice is now rare, but its general discontinuance after World War I has been blamed for some of the riots of 1929 and 1930. Usually, however, the destruction of informal social control takes place with the implementation of new treatment philosophies involving a reduction in power for the inmate elite. Thus seen, the prison riot is essentially a reactionary device, corresponding to what Chalmers Johnson called an "anarchistic" rebellion, designed to recapture lost "rights."[5]

When officials move quickly to undermine the stabilizing influence of inmate leaders, the resulting social disorganization serves as a basis for the visible demonstration of general discontent. At times the former inmate elite themselves are directly instrumental in the resultant disorders. Here again, a parallel to developments in ordinary society may be drawn with leaders in fields other than formal government sometimes filling the role of the agitator. At least one causative factor of certain types of prison riots is an attempt, often by new and well meaning officials, to, in effect, reassert the authority ordinarily thought to repose in custodial hands. When actual informal means of social control have slipped into the hands of representatives of the confined (and this appears to be a natural process) the displacement of power can have serious results. Of such dimly recognized things is rebellion born.

The major prison riots in United States history have been carefully planned and staged events with both overt and covert inmate leadership involved. Most analyses of institutional disorder stress the part played by agitators and ringleaders who serve as nuclei for demonstrated discontent. The usual picture of a prison riot involves the entire inmate population. In reality, only a minority of the prisoners participate. One primary cause of this limitation is the obvious separation of groups which enables authorities to retain control of all but one segment of the institution. Also, many prisoners remain quiet or even render aid to challenged officials.

In physical form the actual institutional disorder usually takes one or more of four major forms: the barricading of buildings and taking of hostages, the destruction of furnishings and equipment, strikes against work or other routine activity, and simple milling about with shouting and assaults on individuals. The disorder may be one of three basic types, with goals roughly corresponding to those in other kinds of social rebellion. The first is aimed directly at the institution's administration and is designed to cause embarrassment to authorities. The hope, of course, is that policy makers will be replaced because of the riot. Second, the disorder may be planned to force a change in certain rules or regulations by demonstration of extreme discontent and outright threats. A third type of riot is a simple display of acute frustration with no specific purpose. Rarely do the rioters achieve any distant goal; and while the first type may topple particular officials, the structure of administration always endures.

Because of prior criminal acts on the part of convicts, an institutional rebellion can be viewed as a gesture of defiance on the part of social outcasts, with proven wrongdoers seizing a temporary opportunity to wreak havoc. In another sense, however, a prison disorder may be simply an example of resentment of regulation and authority common to all societies. Regardless of their past histories, a majority of participants probably feel themselves to be treated unfairly by authorities. This attitude is shared by revolutionaries of other kinds. For the individual actually involved the prison rebellion is a desperate cry for justice by a futile lashing out at authority.

This hopeless demonstration of resentment erupts in a riot. For every prison rebellion which actually takes place several are arrested and prevented. Capable and informed officers rarely allow conditions to reach the point where mass violence is likely. When tension is great wise custodians often detect the danger and take preventive measures. There are, of course, certain periods when increased alertness is suggested. The arrival of known troublemakers, changes in institutional conditions and rules, especially by new administrators, and the weakening of stabilizing influences within the inmate society--all are periods of risk. The greatest source of information about potential trouble comes, of course, from those confined. Potential riots are often made known to officers by prisoners interested in the maintenance of order. Communication with such listening posts is vital to control, but other signs of increasing discontent are available to administrators. Disciplinary infractions normally become more frequent in the period before mass violence. Also, informed inmates may ask to be transferred from particular cellblocks or prisons in anticipation of trouble. The skilled custodian is always well informed of the attitudes and intentions of his charges; such knowledge is basic to the maintenance of order in any society.

Withdrawing from detailed analysis of riots it is possible to see a number of similarities to more general demonstrations of public discontent. While certain common factors are always present, the potential for revolt varies in individual prisons, just as it does in different societies. To determine the probability and possible causation of rebellion, each separate system and actual event must be carefully analyzed. The interaction of diverse factors renders the area very complex; but a cross-disciplinary approach appears to hold the promise of definite and practical rewards. Practical prison guards and theoretical social scientists face the same delicate questions from widely separated viewpoints. Through increasing mutual understanding both could gain new insight into the mysteries of social rebellion.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 172.

[2] Gresham M. Sykes, The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 8.

[3] Sanford Bates, Prisons and Beyond (New York: MacMillan, 1936), pp. 80-83.

[4] James C. Davies, "Toward A Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (February, 1962), p. 6.

[5] Chalmers Johnson, Revolution and the Social System (N.P.: Stanford University, 1964), pp. 40-45.

VOTER CONSISTENCY: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY

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This research report seeks to provide partial answers to two questions: (1) what portion of registrants vote routinely, irrespective of type of election, issues or candidates, and (2) is there a positive relation between voting consistency and SES?

The active and rational participation of informed citizens in terms of a set of values and principles in the political process, including voting, has been a basic assumption of political theory since the 17th century philosophers of representative government. But the "facts of life" in the United States are that many eligible citizens do not register, and many of the registrants do not vote.[1] Moreover, studies since particularly 1940, have concluded that many voters make their decisions on bases somewhat different from the theoretical idea.[2]

It has been assumed that some registrants vote routinely, but there have been few attempts in the United States to determine the proportion of "core" voters. Campbell and his associates at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center routinely asked responsdents if they voted in previous elections, mainly presidential, but little attempt was made to determine the proportion of consistent voters.[3] By implication, longitudinal studies based on aggregate data suggest a measure of consistency, but such evidence cannot account for the amount of "turnover" on an individual basis. A recent study by McCleskey and Nimmo[4] of three 1964 elections in Houston, which included a measure of consistency, found that only 11 percent of the registrants participated in all three elections. Outside the United States, Bo Särlvik in a Swedish study studied individual voter behavior for a number of years.[5] He found the consistents in four elections in four years comprised 71 percent of the eligibles.

Studies of voting behavior, in the United States and elsewhere, have included analyses of either the social (sociological) characteristics of voters, or psychological characteristics. Possibly the most widely accepted generalization concerning social characteristics is that voting is positively correlated with socioeconomic status.[6] A number of writers, however, contend that variation in political participation operates independently of SES, or that SES is of secondary importance. Milbrath[7] suggests that "centrality," in the sense of psychological involvement in community affairs, is a better indicator of level of participation. In THE VOTER DECIDES,[8] Angus Campbell and his associates present scales of "political efficacy" and "sense of civic duty." These measures seek to determine to what extent individuals vote because they believe their vote is important and to what extent voting is related to a sense of civic responsibility. The conclusion is that both characteristics are positively related to electoral participation, and generally true even when the usual socioeconomic characteristics are controlled.

Procedure As indicated above, the emphasis in this report is on longitudinal citizen participation in the voting process. It is restricted to those who have been registered in the same precinct for three years. The concern is on the degree of commitment ("political efficacy," "sense of duty") as measured by individual voting in a series of six elections--local, state, and national--in three successive years (1966, 1967, 1968).

Registration and voting are certainly not the only indicants of political interest and participation, but they are crucial under a system of representative government. For the great majority of citizens, voting represents the only way of translating attitudes and values into effective collective action. And, as professional politicians know, it is useful to sample preferences, but significant only as preferences are translated into action at the voting place.[9]

In 1966, nine precincts in Fort Worth were selected to represent variations in socioeconomic status, and race-ethnic differences, as well as different geographic sections of the city, and neighborhoods varying in age of first settlement. While I will refer herein to the nine precincts as the sample, it is recognized that they are not strictly representative in the usual statistical sense. The 1966 registration lists and precinct voting records were used to determine which registrants had voted in two 1966 elections (the local Urban Renewal election and the November General election). The next step involved determining which of the 1966 registrants were registered in the same precincts in 1967, and those who voted in two local elections (for City Council). The same procedure was followed in 1968, using the May party primaries and the November General election. As nearly as can be determined (precincts are established at the county level and do not coincide with city limits) the original 1966 sample represented 10-15 percent of the total city registrants, was about 20 percent Negro, and probably about five percent persons of Spanish surname (registration lists do not include race or ethnic connection).

In addition to name and address, registration records provide age, length of residence, place of birth, and occupation. By inspection, we have derived data on sex, marital status, and at least a partial count of persons of Spanish surname.[10]

The 1966 sample totaled 10,778 registrants in the nine precincts; 7,100 of these registered in the same precincts in 1967, and 5,968 registered in 1968. This group of stable residents and consistent registrants comprises the "base" sample.

The original interest in and decision to follow the procedure described above revolved around the desire to develop a longitudinal measure of the consistency and turnover voting behavior of individuals, and the belief that official records, although time consuming to use, might provide a more accurate measure of voting consistency than the "recall" approach used in survey studies.

It was hypothesized that while the proportion of voters to registrants might vary directly with SES for a single election, and particularly in one for national office, individual consistency for several elections would be an independent variable. That is, the proportion of regular or "core" voters would be a function of other factors. The measure of socioeconomic status used here is a composite index constructed by the writer, utilizing 1960 census tract data, and is a neighborhood (precinct) summary measure.[11] As such, it only approximates the SES of the individuals studied.

Results

For the six elections studied, the percentage of the base sample voting in **a single** election ranged from 84.7 percent for the November, 1968 General election, to 41.1 percent for the second Council election in 1967. High-low variations for individual precincts and elections were from 90.4 percent (November, 1968), to 21.4 percent (2nd Council). The high-low difference in turnout for individual elections for the nine precincts was 43.6 percentage points, with the highest individual precinct range being 62.7 and the lowest 32.9.

Only 15 percent of the sample registrants were consistent voters--voted in all six elections--, and 5.9 percent of the three year registrants voted in none. Among the nine precincts, the highest consistency percentage was 18.7, and the lowest 9.3; percentage of non-voters varied from 3.2 to 10.2.

From the above it can be noted that even among stable residents and consistent registrants voting turnout varies by type of election. It may be also worthwhile to know how the consistent voters compared with the total eligibles, and what percentage the consistent voters were of the total voters for the elections studied. In 1960, approximately 49 percent of the persons 21 years of age and over registered in the nine sample precincts.[12] With the elimination of the poll tax, the proportion of eligibles registering increased. It is estimated that the average proportion of registrants for the three years under study was 60 percent. If this estimate is close, then the consistent voters represent about nine percent of the eligibles in the nine precincts.

As would be expected, the consistent voters in the base sample comprised a larger percentage of the total voters in local elections than in the state or presidential elections. Thus the consistents comprised 28 percent of the total voters in the second Council election in 1968, but only nine percent of the total vote in the 1968 General election. For the individual elections, the sample consistents were 19.5 percent of the total vote in the Urban Renewal election, 20.9 percent in November, 1966, 27.3 in the first 1967 Council election and 28.0 in the second, 24.6 in the 1968 May primary, and 9.1 in the November General election. On an average basis for the six elections, the consistent voters were 18.7 of the total average vote.

Consistency in voting (in all six elections at least) shows little relationship to neighborhood socioeconomic status. For the base sample, the highest percentage of consistent voters resided in two precincts at opposite extremes on the measure of SES. One precinct, almost totally Negro and low income, ranked highest in consistents (18.7), while another precinct, a newly settled upper middle class white area, was only slightly lower with 17.6 consistents. Both precincts have in common a location on the periphery of the city. Moreover, the next lowest SES precinct (in the sample) had a higher percentage of consistent voters than the next from the highest SES precinct. The lowest percent of consistents (9.3) occurred in the middle precinct among the nine as ranked by the SES index used. Rather obviously, either the aggregate measure of SES is inadequate, or voter consistency, in this sample at least, is a variable independent of SES.

The most significant finding here is the low proportion of consistent voters, and the fact that percentage of consistent voters varied considerably among the nine precincts without any meaningful correlation with socioeconomic status. Moreover, pairs of precincts had the same proportion of consistent voters but varied significantly in sample turnout for particular elections. Considering the entire sample and comparing percentage turnout for individual elections, one precinct had a percentage-point difference of only five, while for another the point difference was 29.

The similarity in voting consistency for the two precincts ranking highest and lowest (among the nine) in terms of SES provides partial proof of our hypothesis that consistency would vary independently of SES. The voting record of the upper SES precinct is fairly easily explained by the usual generalizations. It appears plausible that the relatively consistent record of the low SES precinct is related to the fact that it is a relatively stable neighborhood in which residents tend to know and influence each other.

In the U.S. we have become accustomed to the situation of limited turnout for elections, and some writers argue that lack of intense and extensive involvement in the electoral process is partial proof of general acceptance of the way the political system functions. An alternate explanation is that for many individuals there is a sense of helplessness. Our evidence indicates that only a small proportion of the citizens appear to have a feeling of "political efficacy" or "sense of civic responsibility."

Certainly, however, it would be questionable to conclude that the citzenry are either satisfied or feel helpless. Other forces appear to be involved, including various cross pressures and role definition conflicts. In part, failure to vote in a particular election may be due to a variety of other factors.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Eugene Burdick in Engene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (eds.), American Voting Behavior (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960) pp. 138-140; see also, Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Jack M. Burns and Jack W. Peltson, Government By The People (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969); Stanley Kelly, Jr., et al., "Registration and Voting: Putting First Things First" American Political Science Review 61 (June, 1967) pp. 359-77.

2. For an early example, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld, et al, The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind In a Presidential Campaign (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944).

3. Angus Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954) and earlier and later studies by Campbell and his associates.

4. Clifton McCleskey and Dan Nimmo, "Differences Between Potential, Registered and Actual Voters: Houston Metropolitan Area, 1964" Social Science Quarterly 49 (June, 1968) pp. 103-14.

5. Bo Särlvik, "The 1968 Election in Sweden," Institute of Political Science, Göteborg, Sweden.

6. Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960); and Hugh A. Bone and Austin Ranney, Politics and Voters (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

7. Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Rand McNally, 1965) pp. 110-11.

8. Campbell, op cit., pp. 190-94.

9. Bone and Ranney, op. cit., p. 6.

10. These data are not analyzed here.

11. The index of socioeconomic status (SES) was developed by the writer and is based upon 1960 census tract and block statistics. The block statistics data were utilized by developing appropriate block combinations to fit precinct boundaries. The index is a composite of selected indicants of income, education, occupation, and housing variations.

12. We "fitted" 1960 Census Bureau "Block" data to precinct areas and estimated the voting-age population.

CONCERN OVER ISSUES AT ELECTION TIME IN ARKANSAS, 1966 and 1968, Related to Selected Factors

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Introduction

This paper is based on two teacher-student surveys of concern shown over issues just prior to election in Arkansas, 1966 and 1968. The first survey was made during the three weeks prior to the election, November 8, 1966. The second one was made during the four weeks prior to the election, November 5, 1968. In 1966, one hundred two students interviewed 1,019 persons, while in 1968, ninety-seven students interviewed 1,113 persons.

Meaning of Key Terms

Concern, a matter of interest or importance to one, a matter to which one relates and refers as he takes action, such as voting

Issue, a point, matter, or question being disputed, possibly to be decided

Consensus, a wide sharing of feeling, meaning

Objectives

1. Ascertain on the eve of an election the issues about which individuals have the greatest concern
2. Relate concerns of individuals to area of state, age, occupation, and size of community of interviewees
3. Supplement text material, and enrich classroom discussion by inclusion of results of public opinion polls of the value judgments of people
4. Obtain experience in gathering, recording, and analyzing unrecorded data

Method of Study

Principally the method of study was that students interviewed individuals and ascertained their major concerns. Students were asked to interview persons in the home community, and if possible, of different occupations. They were told that if they could not interview conveniently in their home communities, to do so in some other place as in Conway. From the outset, students made it clear to those being interviewed, that they were not asking for, and would not record names of those interviewed. Furthermore, they explained that they were not asking how persons were to vote on any issues named by interviewees. It was realized that this latter condition would detract from the significance of the results but for the survey to be conducted by students and teacher of a tax supported institution during the heat of election campaigns, they were regarded as being essential.

The 1966 Study

Persons interviewed were each asked to list the issue of first, second, and third concern to them as they prepared to go to the polls. The issue named could be of concern to the individual at either the national, state, or local level.

The data collected were coded in a manner so as to adapt to computer analysis.

Findings

The issues reported as being of most concern in 1966 were summarized in two ways: (1) the number of times an issue was reported as being of first concern, and (2) the number of times an issue was reported as being of either first, second, or third concern.[1]

Students completed their interviewing and reported their issues, as a progress report, not later than the day of the election. The teacher promptly examined the issues submitted and compiled a list of 82 believed to be broad enough for any student then to take this list and number the issues reported to him according to the way the issue was numbered on this list. The 80 separate issues in that list of 82 categories were grouped under eleven major areas of public interest, such as education, government, and economic development.

Taking the issues as the students classed them under the list of 82 categories, combining several that were similar, this arrayal on the basis of those which were of first concern to citizens in 1966 resulted:

Improvements to education in general	157 times
School consolidation	111 times
The two-party vs. one-party system	102 times
Promotion of industrialization in general	51 times
Lowering of taxes in general	41 times

Concern over Issues Related to Selected Factors: An issue familiar to most citizens of Arkansas is the one of school consolidation. It was not unusual in 1930 for a county to have as many as 30 to 40 separate schools in operation. Although there has been much consolidation of schools, this issue remains an important one as was indicated in this statement from an article in the Arkansas Gazette, November 30, 1968: "A report of the Arkansas School Study Council at the University of Arkansas shows that 77 per cent of the school districts in Arkansas are too small to offer a suitable educational program."

Analysis of the 1966 data indicated that the occupation group registering the greatest concern over school consolidation was the farm group, 35.9 percent of the interviewees in this group giving school consolidation as the issue of first concern, compared to 31.3 percent of those in the next highest group, namely, "private household workers and other service workers." The occupation group evidencing the least concern over school consolidation was the one labeled, "Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, and operatives and kindred workers," where only 16 percent of the 19 interviewees of the group gave this issue as their first concern.

When concern over school consolidation was related to the size of community of the interviewees, it was found that by far the greatest concern was by persons living in the most sparsely populated areas of the state.

Concern over the issue of improvements to education in general was highest among those interviewees who fell in the occupation group, "Students," and in the age group, "0 through 24 years."

In spite of the fact that farming is requiring more and more education for success, the farm group showed noticeably less concern over the issue of improvements to education in general than did any other occupation group.

When concern over the issue of improvements to education in general was related to the size of community in which the interviewees lived, it was found that the size group having by far the greatest concern was the largest population group, "80,000 and over."

Although concern over the two-party vs. the one-party system was one of three issues receiving the greatest concern just prior to the 1966 election, when this concern was related to the factors of geographic area of state, and the age, occupation, and size of community of the interviewees naming the issue, it was seen that such concern was shared fairly uniformly among the subdivisions of the different groups.

The 1968 Study

In 1968 the students recorded as first, second, or third, the three issues the interviewee believed would be the most influential in determining the way he would vote in the national, state, and local elections. For sake of brevity mostly, the area of state in which interviewees lived was not obtained, and age was generally approximated by the students. When the study was begun in 1968, it was doubtful that analysis by computer would be possible.

Findings

The three top national, state, and local issues found to be of greatest concern, arrayed highest to lowest were:

National:	Viet Nam working toward peace there Order in the streets Civil rights
State:	Penal reform Constitution, revision of Corruption of officeholders
Local:	Education in general Rural roads, improvement of Drinking, regulation of

The interviewees were distributed rather equally among the different age, occupation, and size of community groupings in 1966 and 1968.

Concern over Issues Related to Selected Factors: Concern over Viet Nam, working toward peace there, was listed rather uniformly by 65 to 80 percent of those interviewed, and this was true for nearly any of the age, occupation, or size of community groupings.

Concern over law and order, the issue receiving the second most attention at the national level, was relatively uniform among the different age, occupation, and size of community groupings.

Concern over civil rights was appreciably higher for each of the three younger age groups than it was among the three older age groups. Among the occupation groups, the "Clerical and kindred workers" showed the greatest concern over the civil rights issue.

Concern over checking inflation and stabilization of the economy was noticeably high among the occupation group, "Housewives not employed in career jobs, and the unemployed."

Summary and Conclusions

The method followed in selecting interviewees should have been more definite than it was. This would have been so except that it almost certainly would have meant asking each student to give more time and travel without reimbursement, than he would have wanted to do.

The significance of the results of such a student survey of the value judgments of people is dependent upon the integrity and sincerity of both the students interviewing and those citizens interviewed. The nature of this survey of the major concerns of people within short periods just prior to elections, was such that it seemed to command the respect and attention of the great majority of students and citizens.

The concerns of those interviewed were influenced by factors, such as their age, occupation, and the size and place of the community where they lived. Such factors cause people to have experiences, interests, and values which determine their priorities. One example was that in 1966, farmers and persons living in sparsely populated areas showed the greatest concern over the issue of school consolidation. Another example was that in 1968, the three younger age groups each showed relatively greater concern over the issue of civil rights than did the three older age groups.

The method used was one which might be followed by most any community in inventorying the concerns of its people and using these as a guide for further study, and possibly action, assuming that in a society the concerns of the masses are to be respected.

The survey was an example of how a teacher and students can use society at large as a laboratory, and so, help to understand it.

Important changes occurred in the concern shown for some issues, 1966 to 1968. For example, concern over the Viet Nam War was not quite enough to place this issue in the top five in 1966 while in 1968 it stood out by far more than did any other issue at either the national, state, or local level.

These surveys helped students realize some of the factors that cause people to feel the way they do. They gave them valuable experience in meeting people, obtaining, recording, coding, and analyzing unrecorded data, and thereby provided opportunities for enriching the classroom discussions.

Perhaps in later years it will be of interest to have this study as one indication of what issues were of greatest concern to Arkansas people in 1966 and 1968, when, for the first time in nearly 100 years, they elected a Republican governor and lieutenant governor. The study showed, for example in 1966, that next to issues related to education, and before issues related to industrialization, or lowering of taxes in general--as popular as the appeal of these issues generally is in the state--there was concern over the issue of "The two-party vs. one-party system."

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1. In longer manuscript, Reserve Desk, Torreyson Library State College of Arkansas, Exhibit 1, pp. 3-5. Several other tables used as sources for this paper were omitted for lack of space.

"A SOCIOLPOLITICAL SURVEY OF LITTLE ROCK RESIDENTS: SOME PRELIMINARY FINDINGS"

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Introduction

The study of the political system as an institution is conceived with high magnitude in the analysis of a societal framework.[1] The legitimacy for the American political system can be traced to the Lockean concept of consent of the governed embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Within this framework of majority rule, democratic institutions function to fulfill the political needs of society. Thus, social control is a dynamic and interactive process and the analysis of the social context of political attitudes is meaningful. According to Barber, the community is analogous to a laboratory where the wires of the political network are intertwined with other institutions to make a culture.[2] The purpose of the investigation reported in this paper is the analysis of the social context of community attitudes toward one element of the political system — the electoral college.

The duration of this institution attests to the validity of the resistance to change of institutions noted by Ogburn.[3] The framers of the Constitution decided upon this method for selecting a president to meet the needs of eighteenth century America. In light of today's social and political attitudes, the electoral college is considered by the majority of the people to be an anachronism which violates the basic principles of democracy.[4] Therefore, the needs of many segments of the society are not being adequately fulfilled and the electoral college does not express consent.

Marx provides the analytical tool for the investigation of the social context of political attitudes. He believed that the differential distribution of wealth and power within a society leads to class generated attitudes. Similarity in life experiences and chances produces common attitudes. In this framework Coser states, "When economic resources or power positions are unequal the resultant relationship is likely to be unbalanced, unilateral rather than multilateral."'[5] Social conflict is the inevitable result of differential stratified political attitudes and the expression of this conflict is often found in alienation.

Clark defines alienation as "the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations."[6] Alienation is characterized by feelings of estrangement and the overt expression of this socio-psychological state may vary from an indifference to the values of society to organized resistance directed toward a radical change. Seeman found that the source of political alienation is an individual's belief that his own behavior cannot determine the "outcome or reinforcement he seeks."[7]

"Consent of the governed" implies the opposite — the individual's belief that through the election process the voice of the majority is heard. Janowitz and Marvick expressed this in terms of the individuals self-interest and self-confidence. Fundamental to a democracy is an individual's conviction that his participation in the election process makes a difference, that it is possible for him to influence public policy, and that while his interests will be maximized by victory of one side this democratic process is important to him as a citizen regardless of who wins.[8] One could expand Gamson's theoretical discussion of alienation toward the political community to incorporate political systems and institutions that induce such estrangement.[9]

From this perspective alienation can be viewed as a product of the dissatisfaction with the electoral college as a method of choosing the president. In the analysis of the social context of attitudes toward this institution, the following findings were expected and are presented in hypothetical form.

Hypothesis 1. Political alienation is inversely associated with attitudes toward the electoral college with persons scoring high on the political alienation index resisting the electoral college more stringently than those persons scoring low on the index.

Hypothesis 2. Social class is inversely associated with political alienation with the lower class scoring high on the political alienation index.

Hypothesis 3. Voting behavior is positively associated with attitudes toward the electoral college; people who demonstrate a high level of voter participation favor the electoral college more than those who seldom vote.

Hypothesis 4. Political knowledge is inversely assocated with attitudes toward the electoral college with people scoring high on the political scale resisting the electoral college more than do people scoring low on the political knowledge scale.

Method

The names, addresses, and phone numbers of residents of Little Rock, Arkansas, having access to a telephone were listed in numerical order and subject to random sampling procedure. Using a statistical chart of random numbers, a one percent sample was drawn and these subjects were interviewed. The telephone was the research tool; one interviewer was to further standardize the structured interview. The probability of biasing the sample with the exclusion of the subjects having no access to the telephone is recognized, and, therefore, the universe of the study is limited only to residents accessible for this means of interview.

The sample consists of 302 residents of which 100 were usable. A usable response rate of only 100 seems quite low and most definitely impairs the possible inferences that can be drawn. The information collected in the interviews was categorized to enable the application of measures of association to determine the degree of the relationship between the above mentioned variable with attitudes toward the electoral college.

Findings

Political alienation is negatively associated with attitudes toward the electoral college. Those who score high on the alienation index tend to favor abolishing this institution. Political alienation or estrangement is the antithesis of political satisfaction and these feelings are reflected covertly in attitudes toward the electoral college and overtly in voting behavior. Clark determined that alienation was highly related to an individual's satisfaction with a particular element within a social system. (-.62)[10] Political alienation is the result when a person feels no sense of satisfaction or gratification from fulfilling his obligations of citizenship. For purposes of measuring alienation a three dimensional index of normlessness, powerlessness, and social isolation was operationally conceptualized by the subject's response to a series of statements.

First to measure normlessness the subjects were ask to respond by indicating the degree of acceptability of statements of political particianism with regard to political expectations.

The second factor considered in measuring alienation was powerlessness. Powerlessness was also measured by the subjects' responses to a series of statements of political particianism as a means of exerting political influence.

The third factor, social isolation, was measured by the respondent's concept of political activism as was indicated by his participation record.

This person in short, believes that the electoral college system of selecting a president is not an adequate expression of the voice of the people. He feels that his vote is meaningless and, therefore, that he is powerless in the determination of the chief executive. These feelings of alienation are widespread in America today and the electoral college is blamed for some of the estrangement. Elections are being attacked by the general public as well as scholars dissatisfaction with the ballot has been seen as the source of some of the discontent in America today. The findings of the present investigation tend to concur that political alienation is a major factor in dissatisfaction with the existing process -- namely the electoral college. To test this hypothesis a three by three contingency table was constructed for purposes of measuring the degree of association between the two variables. The data reveals a strong inverse measure of association yielding a gamma value of (-.70).

This is a socio-psychological perspective of alienation which can be expanded to include those persons who share common life experiences. From the class to which people assign themselves it is possible to predict some of their social and political views.[11] As Marx stated, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existaence but, on the contrary, their social existence which determines their consciousness."[12]

Dissatisfaction is correlated with income and occupational status. Alienation and disruptive tendencies are most often found in the lower class. Marx realized this when he postulated that this type of energy is generated by those members of the social system whom the systme itself exploits.[13] The social conditions of the deprived, breed the dissatisfaction which becomes political alienation whereas dissatisfaction in the upper economic strata is more likely to be expressed in liberal or radical views. Therefore, it was expected that those persons in the sample who were classified in the lower class would score high on the political alienation index. To test this hypothesis a three by three contingency table was constructed to measure the degree of associations. The gamma value of (-.03) reveals a weak negative relationship exists.

A lack of participation by Negroes in this study affects the representation of the sample and the validity of the results. A follow-up study is currently underway for the purpose of incuiry into why these persons were unwilling to participate because we felt that this would be a very significant aspect of the study.

Voting behavior is related to attitudes toward the electoral college and can be considered as an overt manifestation of consensus.[14] Those persons who demonstrate a high level of voter participation tend to favor retention of the electoral college more often than do those who seldom vote. Our data lends support for this notion with a strong positive association of (.51).

In the Marxian concept of class conflict, there is a struggle between the powerful and the powerless.[15] This is applicable to voting behavior because the powerless, or those who consider themselves to be without political power, are most likely to rank low in voter participation. To them the electoral system is meaningless; the ballot is a farce which cannot afford them any political power. According to Levin ". . . an individual who feels alienated in the 'meaningless' sense will tend either not to vote, to believe his vote makes no differance, or to make his decision in terms of what he believes are adequate standards."[16]

However, the consistently participating voter believes that his vote is significant in the political system. He agrees with Parsons who considers the right to be equivalent to a position of authority. To illustrate this position he compares a ballot with a dollar bill, ". . . though it has little power under the franchise principle of one member, one vote, most definitely is power -- just as a single dollar, though not much money, certainly is money."[17]

This majority, those who believe that their ballot is a communication to a responsive system, either maintain or alter the institutions in the governmental structures are maintained by relatively enduring norms dependent upon the repetitive behavior of involved citizens. The non-voter, who deviates from these norms, is more concerned with himself than with his environment.[18]

Geer and Orleans found definitive evidence for political competence occurring in a high association with progressive attitude toward political participation as well as policies.[19] Clark found a relationship between alienation and education.[20] Also within this framework of the social context of political attitudes, Lazarfeld, Berelson, and Gaudets reasoned that those persons in the lower socio-economic groups do not have the access to information that is available to other groups nor do they take advantage of what is available. This group is characterized by a lower level of education, of political knowledge, of interest in elections, and of exposure to political communications.[21]

Therefore, it was predicted that persons scoring high on the political knowledge scale, which consisted of identification of political figures ranging from national to local level, would be most progressive and the strongest opposition to the electoral college. The gamma value of (-.40) can be interpreted to mean that in 40 percent of the cases the inversion does prevail as a predictor of attitudes toward the electoral college.

Williams found, in agreement with these results, that those persons in the upper socio-economic position tend to have conservative opinions in political affairs.[22] In addition, Campbell reported that those persons who were best informed tried to influence others to a far greater degree than did those persons who were not well informed.[23]

Conclusions

The purpose of this investigation has been realized. The exploration of the data tend to show support for all four of the hypotheses in the predicted direction, A word of caution should be clearly evident in the interpretation of their findings. Despite the fact that the sample was choosen by random sampling procedures it is limited in its universality for a number of reasons, the exclusion of persons having no access to telephone services, the low response rate not to mention the void of black respondents.

Beyond the empirical findings of this study, some consideration of the research tool is worthy of note. Although the telephone limits the nature and composition of the sample it does provide a fast, relative inexpensive means of gathering data. Inferences from this type of data are greatly impared as evidenced from such studies as the Literary Digest Poll.[24] Despite these inadequacies it affords a means helpful in pre-testing and/or post-testing findings solicited from more reliable means.

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THE MYRDAL MODEL AS AN EXPLANATION AND RESIDENTAL SEGREGATION AND EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

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Introduction

The Little Rock papers have been filled with the rhetoric of the school board candidates and their vested opposition.[1] Adding to this the emotional phrases of "Freedom Incorporated" have brought the issue of education in the public schools to a head.[2] The inception of this paper was October of 1968. It is the outgrowth of the research done in connection with a school desegregation suit.[3] The issues are couched around the cold hard facts that the Blacks as an ethnic group have been virtually unrepresented in the realm of making decisions concerning the disposition of educational facilities and equipment.[4] Until two years ago the Little Rock school board was totally white. Now the Black community has one member to represent the interest of this minority. A second factor which is highly akin political franchisment is the notion of educational opportunities, facilities, etc. This is in turn is thought by many to be related to housing patterns.[5]

Conceptual Model

Myrdal's work in the area of intergroup relations stands as a major theoretical accomplishment upon which much of the current research is found.[6] Myrdal's theory states that a rise in the standard of the Negro in one area will in effect alter the treatment of the Negro in other spheres of life.[7] Expanding this conceptual model one might consider the economic factor as an elevator raising and lowering the bargining power with the core group of dominant society.[8] The argument afforded is that if the black people are to effectively act as partisans, they must attain bartering power. Thus having the demands for human dignity addressed with promptness by the core group of a status quo oriented dominant society. Education has long been considered the equalizing factor of roles and statuses ascribed by birth. It is part of the American illusion that achievement through hard work and proper preparation via the attainment of educational endorsements such as diplomas, degrees, etc., makes it possible to raise the status and role expectations that a person must play. Education is thought by some to be the screening test for the selection and allocation of the highly desirable roles and statues of society.[9] At any rate it is the hope of most parents that education will open the door for a better life than they have been able to provide via their own accomplishments or lack of accomplishments as the case might be.[10] This philosophical ideal of achievement through technological ingenuity coming as a by-product of public schooling is based upon the premise that the facilities are adequate and that the opportunity is present.

Using Myrdal's theoretical model the dependence of educational facilities become clear.[11] The point of housing is not to imply that educational accomplishment is completely dependent upon the neighborhood but rather that the relationship does play a part in the opportunity and the quality of education which an individual could realistically expect. A factor which is underlying the opportunity for educational accomplishment is the placement of schools within the district. At this point it is necessary to address the issues surrounding the placement of schools. The first thing that comes to mind, who makes the decision of where and when to build the schools. The answer is dependent upon many factors which are uniquely related to the local school district. In the case of Little Rock this decision lies in the hands of the elected school board. A second question which demands an answer, who are the members of the school board and what are their individual backgrounds.

What possible vested interest might the board have for a specific composition of schools. Again the answer will be dependent upon uniquely configurated factors and no sweeping generalization would provide the insight sought. However in the case of Little Rock the answer can be examined. Control of the Little Rock school board has been a source of contention since the 1954 civil rights case of Brown verses Board of Education.[12] The Court's decision gave the liberal constituency a legal base to launch the offensive against educational discrimination. Two factions have been competing for control since that time. The one faction which I will refer to as the status quo group has maintained control for all but about six years. The challengers of the status quo gained control in the 1964 and 1966 period and have been losing ground since 1968. First a brief description of the status quo will help set the tone of the struggle. The majority are businessmen with a few professional men such as medical doctors, dentists and an even smaller number from the legal profession. The businessmen that are represented in this group have strong ties with the local realtors. The mere fact they have strong ties with the realtors leads one to wonder if the placement of schools might not after all have at least a potential vested return.[13] The challengers were composed of a slightly different make-up with more representation by the legal profession and the housewife set. The vested interest may have been present but it was not as obvious. This fact coupled with the time and energy these board members invested into the work for the district, leads the author to feel their decisions were based more on objective factual knowledge rather than personal interest.[14] At present only two of the original challengers remain as gadflys with which the status quo must contend. Two of the challengers were defeated because they endorced the Oregon Plan of desegregation. Two more were defeated because of their endorsement of the Parsons Plan, which by the way was nullified by the failure of bond issue upon which the plan was to be financed. In the election this spring, Drummond one of the remnants of the challenge delegation, was subjected to a rigorously supported campaign that was financed by one of the leading realty companies in Little Rock, aimed at defeating Drummond.[15] All in all, the composition of the Little Rock school board has been upper-middel class, with all but one of the members residing west of University Drive on the west side of town. Needless to say this is the area with the more expensive homes and the most modernly equipped high school. This seems to concur with the work of Hunter[16] indicating possible merit for the power elite dictrine of control. The mere fact they reside in close physical proximity and have friends and associates from a common social grouping seems to suggest they may be unaware of the needs of other social groupings. In the course of this investigation each of the members of the school board was interviewed by two white researchers and two black researchers. The time interval was carefully controlled in hopes of minimizing possible suspicions. In essence the members were asked to describe their duties and to explain how these duties were performed. The interviewers seemed to sense a void in any routined interaction on the part of the board members with any group other than their own social reference setting. Thus, in terms of the relationship between the school system in Little Rock and the plans effected for desegregation, the school board can be said, in one sense, to constitute an elite. And, if Hunter's study has any merit or validity, the denial of harmonious race relations to the city's structure appears to be a function of the structuring of the upper-middle class values in a small group of people that exist in confirmation of the status quo.

Setting and Focus

Little Rock, Arkansas is a community of slightly over 130,000. The city is geographically divided by the major transportation arteries. Thus the design of the highways and major avenues provide a man-made division of East and West. (For a visual description see Figure 1.) Little Rock's school district consists of 5 senior high schools, 7 junior high schools, and 32 elementary schools which provide the educational needs of 26,837 students in the jurisdiction of the Little Rock District. The focus of this paper will only concern the senior high schools with particular attention to the neighborhood oriented group of high schools constructed following the crisis in 1957.

In 1957, two new high schools, Hall High School and Horace Mann High School, were added to the school district; previously, Central High School was the only secondary school in the system.[17] Horace Mann was placed in an extremely eastern section of the city along Roosevelt Road; and Hall High School was located in an extremely western area beyond University Avenue, and in the midst of an upper class housing addition. At the same time that the new schools were being planned a new interstate highway that would cut the eastern district of Little Rock was proposed; and plans for the construction, as well as the actual acquisition of land for its course through the east-end under way.[18]

For many whites who then predominated the area, the new highway meant a great increase in property value and a substantial amount of unexpected income; income from either the sale of the land for the right-of-way or sale of land adjacent to adjacent to the proposed freeway to land developers who were gobbling up properties for the then future commercial uses. Thus, many white property owners were given an increase in their ability to be economically mobile and began to pull up roots and move to the West. Others in the eastern area whose property values remained unchanged but who were financially capable joined the migration as Negroes began to fill in the vacant properties which had been left by the latter memtioned whites in the sections of the Eastern district surrounding them. In this way, the fact of economic mobility, and the normal tendency for cities to grow westward created a migrating wave of Causacians, with the less economically dynamic Negro left to pick the bones of the properties left behind.[19] The result of this intra-city movement was the establishment of residental enclaves that were racially divided. The tactics for this type of residental segregation consisted of land developers inaugurating a restricted housing development of the extreme west side of the city. The composition of the newly constructed high schools seems to mirror the constellation of housing patterns that seem to emerge as a result of the land developers action. Table one illustrates the effect of building the two new high schools along neighborhood lines.

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENT BY RACE AT HALL, CENTRAL, AND HORACE MANN
HIGH SCHOOLS OF LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Enrollment	Hall		Central		Horace Mann	
Dates	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
1959-60	3	717	6	1515	696	0
1960-61	3	869	7	1626	782	0
1961-62	4	1082	13	1820	819	0
1962-63	6	1252	20	1087	945	0
1963-64	11	1409	33	2121	1017	0
1964-65	18	1491	76	2096	1182	0
1965-66	16	1358	162	2917	1003	0
1966-67	7	1422	322	1815	882	0
1967-68	5	1422	413	1780	802	0
1968-69	4	1436	512	1542	801	0
1969-70	40	1426	532	1198	806	4

What seems to have occured is a subtly schemed separation of the East and the West was in the hands almost exclusively of the land developers. From 1941 to the present time, five prominent local entrepreneurs (Buhler, Walker, Fausett, Block, and Rockefeller), and one major firm from outside the area, The International Paper Company, have been involved in the development of the great majority of the three hundred and eighty westwardly located subdivisions over twenty acres in size.[20] Not one of these subdivisions is tokenly integrated, and not one is exclusively black.

The federal housing programs have also been actively involved in racial discrimination and the confirmation of divisions of residential area along racial boundaries. To date, three federal housing projects in the extremely eastern area, and two in the High Street district are completely occupied by black people; and three in the western areas of the city are totally white. Only one example of integrated housing can be found and this is a new urban re-newal development west of University Avenue. This type of federal involvement reflects a long-standing tradition among the various housing agencies.[21] When it comes to the development of a subdivision, federal agencies have been primarily interested in obtaining a type of housing layout which supports property values. Federal appraisers and land valuators have been considerably influenced by factors which they feel endanger property values. They have looked upon encroachment of commercial and industrial uses in residential land-use and have generally supported the separation of Negores and Whites in federal housing projects.[22] Thus federal agencies, along with the land developers, have influenced segregation in public schools in an indirect manner.

It is obvious that the policies and patterns of land development help sustain segregation of the races, in the educational sense. It seems quite clear that any plan for the achievement of racial balance in the school system could not come on the basis of geographical considerations alone. Yet, it is exactly this type of policy that has been confirmed by the "freedom of choice" design which was initiated by the Little Rock School Board in 1963. For five years, "freedom of choice" was utilized by the school board as a method of reaching effectively the desegregation of the public school system.[23] The result of the plan place only twenty percent of the total Negro student population in predominately white schools at all educational levels. And eleven all-Negro schools continued under the considerations of the plan. In August of 1968, "freedom of choice" was held invalid by the Federal District Court in Little Rock. And the court ordered the school board to adopt a new plan to effect racial equality in faculty and pupil assignment. Finally after much debate over how to achieve the task a plan based on geographic zoning was initiated. The results were a token integration of Hall and Mann, the two mentioned schools. What the plan did accomplish was a large increase in the Negro enrollment of Central High School. It appears that the board had plans of keeping the status quo of token integration of blacks on the west side and whites on the east side. "As the High Street area becomes dominated by Negroes the plan would have created a nearly all black Central High School."[24] Therefore, the board has in effect supported racial segregation established through the development of housing patterns.

Discussion and Implications

Myrdal's discussion of the cumulative nature of discrimination gives a theoretical explanation of how these agents of power have determined the course of Little Rock's educational policy. In accord with Myrdal's model of circular reinforcement of opportunities and treatment the data discussed in this paper, points out how the economically less dynamic Negro has fallen victim to the economic and political coercion of vested interest groups. Thus, determining the policy of distributing educational plants along residential patterns appears to be one of the cumulative factors leading to educational discrimination.

In summary one would have to predict the trend will continue if the status quo maintains control of the local school board. The current development plan for high schools has proposed the next high school to be placed in Pleasant Valley, which just happens to be the most expensive and exclusive housing development in Little Rock to date. For example one of the subdivisions has a $75,000 minimum. If this transpires the enclave of white separatism will be further bolstered. This trend of circularly reinforcing the separation by race is precisely what Myrdal warned us would happen.[25]

Political Trust and its Ramifications

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Trust, like love, receives a consistently favorable Press. It is tempting to find some way to debunk such an exalted state of mind and I will find a few strictures but mostly I intend to add my approbation. However, my argument has little to do with such general sentiments as "If only people trusted each other, we could solve all of our problems." In addition to denying the existence of real conflicts among people and organizations, such a suggestion tells us little about how trust operates. Is it merely a symptom or by-product of certain happy situations or does it help to create solutions where they would otherwise be difficult if not impossible? What specific phenomena can it help us to understand?

The phenomena I am interested in understanding are political and the trust has a political focus.[1] A wide array of relevant terms testifies to the importance of this dimension for understanding political life. We describe citizens as loyal, confident, supportive, allegiant, enthusiastic, satisfied, or negatively as alienated, discontented, disaffected, apathetic, rebellious. Clearly, we ascribe important consequences for the political system to these different states of mind that we may find among the citizenry. My task is to analyse some of these consequences.

What is Trust?

Trust in the government is a political attitude. Like any attitude, it is a predisposition to act for or against some object - it has an evaluative component. It is distinguished from other attitudes in having the government as its target. Political attitudes, like other attitudes, may be held with varying degrees of intensity, may be tightly or loosely related to other attitudes, and may be directed toward broad or narrow objects.

Trust is a special kind of attitude. The term "political attitude" typically connotes an opinion on some sepcific public issue or public figure - for example, an attitude toward Medicare or toward Richard Nixon. Trust, however, refers to a different and more basic type of political orientation. It refers to the general expectations people have about the quality of the product that the political system produces. It is more generalized, cumulative, and stable than attitudes on specific public issues.

It is important to distinguish trust from a closely related attitude - political efficacy. Efficacy refers to the *ability to* influence; trust refers to the *necessity for* influence. Of course, if one feels he cannot contribute significant inputs to the political system, he is also likely to feel unhappy with the outputs but this is an empirical hypothesis which might prove false under some conditions. A benevolent paternalism, for example, might provide an exception. In any event, trust will be used here to refer to an attitude toward the product or outputs of the political system.

The Objects of Political Trust

As the object of a general attitude, the political system is a variegated one. It is perfectly possible for an individual to feel great confidence in his local government while feeling alienated from the federal government, or fice versa. Furthermore, a man may be confident in political institutions while feeling alienated from the incumbents who man them. Political trust is best regarded as a differentiated attitude toward different levels of the political system - toward the public philosophy which justifies a regime, its political institutions, or the authorities who hold office at a particular time.

There is probably a hierarchical relationship among different objects of political trust. An unpleasant outcome on a specific issue may not have any appreciable effect on more general attitudes of trust. However, if such unpleasant outcomes are repeated frequently or if one of them is especially important, the dissatisfied recipients may conclude that the authorities are biased against them. And if such experiences extend over several sets of authorities, they may conclude that the institutions themselves are a source of bias and that throwing the rascals out will have little effect. The seeds of revolution are contained in such generalization of political trust.

The Dual Importance of Trust

It happens that trust is critically important in understanding two very different but related kinds of political phenomena. It is important in helping us to understand the capacity of leaders to solve problems on behalf of their constituency; and it is equally important to an understanding of the process by which members of a political system mobilize and attempt to influence political leaders. We will examine each of these in turn.

Trust as the Creator of Collective Power

"In wartime, if you desire service, you must give loyalty" Winston Churchill told his parliamentary critics during a censure debate (1962, Vol. 4, p. 352). But the same argument applies to peacetime as well. Parsons has articulated it most fully. Any group of leaders must make many decisions under conditions of great uncertainty. Many of these decisions require the commitment of resources which the leader must draw from his followers. And frequently leaders commit their followers without prior consent. Indeed, prior consent is typically impossible because of the uncertainties which the future holds. As Parsons puts it, "Effectiveness...necessitates the capacity to make decisions and to commit resources, independently of specific conditions prescribed in advance...by some kind of prior agreement" (1961, p. 52). The freedom which leaders have to invest or spend the resources they have 'borrowed' from their followers, allows leaders to generate additional resources. Thus, if they provide effective leadership, they provide their constituency with a generous return on its loan in the form of public goods or increased resources.

To quote Parsons again, "Like economic firms, units specializing in political function are dependent on the return of the power they have 'spent' or 'invested' through their decisions about the allocation of resources. This return, analogous to that from consumers' spending, takes the form of the constituency's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with these decisions, and it thus directly affects the leadership's capacity to make further commitments" (1961, p. 53).

The effectiveness of political leadership, then, depends on the ability of authorities to claim the loyal cooperation of members of the system without having to specify in advance what such cooperation will entail. Within certain limits, effectiveness depends on a blank check. The importance of trust becomes apparent: the loss of trust is the loss of system power, the loss of a generalized capacity for authorities to commit resources to attain collective goals.

Now we all know that authorities sometimes use their power selfishly or stupidly. As a result, they experience a loss of credit which reduces their power. Witness the collapse of power in the Johnson Administration from 1964 to 1968. In the summer of 1964 when the President's credit rating was high, he asked and received from Congress a generalized grant of authority in the form of the "Bay of Tonkin" resolution. Following a highly ambiguous incident off the coast of North Vietnam, a trusting Congress agreed to give the President a wide latitude in making military commitments in Southeast Asia. An overwhelming election victory in November, 1964 increased such latitude even further.

In early 1965, President Johnson had a virtually unlimited capacity to make commitments. This itself is a neutral fact which is given meaning only by the trust one had in his leadership. He might have used the power wisely. For example, he might have extricated the United States from its involvement in Vietnam at that time. To do so would have involved some risks including the possibility that events would occur which would have made the President vulnerable to opposition charges of 'appeasement' or softness'. However, the high trust he enjoyed gave him a vital margin with which to take such risks had he wished to do so. It also gave him the ability to make a fullscale commitment of United States military forces and prestige to the prosecution of the war, a course with its own risks which he chose. By the end of March, 1968 on the eve of the Wisconsin presidential primary, President Johnson had become a casualty of his own decision.

The ebb and flow of trust is a dynamic process which feeds back upon itself. As confidence in the President eroded, his capacity to take actions to restore confidence was simultaneously eroded. Less trust means less power and less power means less freedom to remove past errors and thus halt or reverse the process of power collapse. Failure breeds distrust and in thus reducing power creates the conditions for further failure.

Parsons has pointed to this 'deflationary spiral' as an essential part of the dynamics of revolution. A well-functioning government is, like a well-functioning bank, "'insolvent' at any given moment with respect to its formal obligations if there is insistence on their fulfillment too rapidly" (Parsons, 1964, p. 60). A bank, of course, does not keep its depositors' money in a vault but lends and invests them on the secure knowledge that all its depositors will not appear for their funds on the same day. Furthermore, it lends to others money beyond what its depositors have lent it and thereby creates new money. A well functioning government has similarly undertaken a series of obligations beyond its capacity to fulfill them instantaneously.

The decline of trust has the effect of encouraging groups to demand explicit fulfillment of the government's obligations to them. These demands may be fully legitimate ones which the government does not in any way deny. But if its ability to meet them is called into question, this encourages other groups to press their demands. Thus, it is possible for the loss of trust to encourage what amounts to a run on the bank. The beleaguered Lindsay administration in New York City experienced something very much like this process in the autumn of 1968.

Finally, there is an additional factor which may accelerate this process. As discontent rises, various portions of the population become increasingly mobilized and may resort to actions which generate additional problems for the government. Thus, it becomes necessary for the government to turn its attention from the problems which cause the discontent to the control of the discontented group. This requires a diversion of resources at a moment when they are already overextended. Its general capacity to meet existing commitments is reduced further and the whole deflationary process is given an additional boost.

In sum, political trust is a kind of "diffuse support" which "forms a reservoir of favorable attitudes or good will that helps members to accept or tolerate outputs to which they are opposed or the effect of which they see as damaging to their wants" (Easton, 1965, p. 273). When the supply in the reservoir is high, leaders are able to make new commitments on the basis of it and, if successful, increase support even more. When it is low and declining, leaders may find it difficult to meet existing commitments and to govern effectively.

Trust as the Source of Inactivity

Interpreting inactivity is at least as difficult as reading tea leaves. It may reflect very different amounts of trust and taken by itself it tells us little about the underlying attitudes of the inactive. First, it can be an expression of low trust or alienation. The military dictatorship in Greece, for example, was anxious to produce a high percentage of "Yes" votes in a plebescite for the constitution it intended to impose; inactivity in such a situation was taken by the regime to indicate non-support. But even in the United States, with genuinely competitive elections, inactivity or failure to vote is interpreted as non-support for the political system. This is why local newspapers urge a citizen to vote for any candidate as long as he votes. Non-voting as a means of withholding support from the system has never been better expressed than in comedian Mort Sahl's advice to voters during the 1960 Presidential election campaign to "Vote 'No" and keep the White House empty for another four years."

Ironically, inactivity can also be an expression of high trust. For example, there is evidence that participation in the political system increases in times of crisis. "In Germany and Austria," Lipset points out (1960, p. 189), "the normally high turnout reached its greatest heights in 1932-33, in the last elections before the destruction of the democratic system itself." This fact suggests that some people were not participating because they were reasonably satisfied or at least unconcerned and began participating when they really became upset about the political system. Inactivity can be a sign of confidence or high trust; it may express the feeling that any of those gentlemen would do a fine job as President so why bother to choose. Or, inactivity may simply be a sign of the irrelevance of politics and government for many people much of the time.

Inactivity or apathy and its counterparts of arousal or mobilization are rich in complexity, and the key to understanding them is the concept of political trust. High trust in the political system is double-edged. For authorities, it is beneficial since it increases their capacity; for the leaders of disadvantaged groups in the system, it is an obstacle to change since it leads to apathy among their followers. High trust in the authorities who man the political system implies some lack of necessity for influencing them. From the standpoint of partisan group leaders who very much believe that influence is necessary, the loss of trust in authorities by their potential membership means that their followers may become more politically active, join organizations, and contribute increasing time and money to influencing authorities.

High trust in the political system, then, can be a problem for groups interested in change. Interest groups face two simultaneous tasks and must consider their tactics in the light of both. On the one hand, they are concerned with influencing authorities and producing favorable policies. On the other hand, they must maintain, or in many cases, create the support of a constituency. If trust in the system is sufficiently high, interest groups may appear to be unnecessary mediators of solidary group interests. Why put time, inergy, and money into an organization aimed at influencing authorities if these men can already be counted on to be responsive to the group's needs? A loss of trust in authorities may have the consequence of increasing the resources of interest groups by making the necessity of using them to influence authorities more apparent to their constituency.

The trust variable makes the relation between successful influence and building the support of a constituency an extremely delicate one. In some cases, the two goals of interest groups are complementary, successful influence stimulating member support and increased support stimulating more effective influence. However, with a relatively unorganized constituency, the problem of mobilizing support is likely to dominate the concerns of the interest group and short-run influence may be willingly sacrificed to this goal. In some cases, apparent defeats may even be preferred to victories if they occur in ways that diminish trust in authorities and increase group solidarity and personal investment in interest groups.

Organizers frequently seem to be aware of this point but the same cannot be said of their targets. Targets of influence typically speak of being firm and of "not rewarding disruptive tactics" without realizing that their rigidity may be a critical input to the mobilization of the partisan group they are confronting. Flexibility, on the other hand, may undercut the mobilization process and satisfy the more marginally discontented members of the partisan group's constituency, thus creating internal divisions and problems of intergration in the partisan group. Organizers concerned with mobilization frequently regard the Bull Connors and Mayor Daleys as their most precious assets.

My moral here is not that "nothing succeeds like failure." Failure and frustration are frequently debilitating and demoralizing and increases in discontent can have an effect that is the opposite from mobilizing people. More specifically, I would hypothesize that a combination of a high sense of political efficacy and low political trust is the optimum combination for mobilization - a belief that influence is both possible and necessary. But, as noted above, a sense of efficacy and trust do not vary independently and any group strategy must be judged in terms of its effects on both variables.

Some Suggestive Data

These thoughts on trust and efficacy have a good many empirical implications. In the remainder of this paper, I will examine some data which suggests their relevance, most of it collected and analysed by Jeffery M. Paige.[2] Paige's concern was with the more general problem of the meaning of collective violence, particularly as it was manifested in the urban disorders of the 1960's. My focus here is on one aspect of this more general issue.

I argued above that a combination of high efficacy and low trust is a potent combination, leading to high mobilization for political action. But trust also is related to the means of political action chosen and, as we will see in a moment, this is likely to make the combination even more explosive.

The argument connecting means of influence with political trust is a complicated one. Since I have made it in detail elsewhere,[3] I will merely restate the conclusion here. Means of influence can be categorized as constraints, inducements, or persuasion. Constraints are the addition of new disadvantages to the situation or the threat to do so, regardless of the particular resources used. Inducements are the addition of new advantages to the situation or the promise to do so, regardless of the particular resources used. Finally, persuasion involves some change in the minds of the target of influence without admitting anything new to their situation.

How are these means of influence related to political trust? This latter concept can be defined as the probability of obtaining preferred outcomes from the political system even when this system is left untended. A preferred outcome is one that is regarded as most favorable to one's interests when they conflict with those of others, or as the most efficient for the system as a whole.

The probability of receiving preferred outcomes without doine anything to bring them about - let me call this P_b - can range from 0 to 1.0. Although the trust variable is continuous, it is convenient to describe three pure points on the dimension for the purposes of discussion. Confidence is the belief that for any given decision, $P_b = 1.0$. For a group to have confidence in authorities means that it perceives them as its agents, that the group members identify with them. Neutrality is the belief that for any given decision, $P_b = .5$. Neutrality toward authorities means that a group believes that such authorities are moderately competent and efficient in achieving collective goals but that they offer no special leadership skills. On questions of conflict, a group with a neutral attitude regards the authorities as indifferent and disinterested. Finally, alienation is the belief that for any given decision, $P_b = 0$. Alienation from authorites means that they are garded as incompetent and stupid in achieving collective goals and biased against the group in handling conflicts of interest. They are antiagents of the group, the agents of groups with conflicting goals.

A plausible theoretical argument can be made that the means of influence that a partisan group directs against a set of authorities will tend to emphasize a dominant means. More specifically, a confident group will tend to rely on persuasion as a means of influence; a neutral group will tend to rely on inducements; and an alienated group will tend to rely on constraints.

Now there is some evidence that the explosive combination of high efficacy and low trust may be present among many Negroes in the urban ghettoes of the North. At least this is what political party workers in the ghetto seem to feel about the attitudes of their constituents according to Rossi et al. (1968). These party workers "saw their constituents," Rossi et al. (p. 75) suggest, "as rejecting the present set of politicians, having little faith in their elected representatives but at the same time being politically agitated and active."

Paige (1968) has data which allows us to pursue this line of argument more closely. The data consists of interviews, conducted by Negro interviewers, of a probability sample of 236 males between the ages of 15 and 35 years, living in the core riot area of Newark, New Jersey. The interviews were conducted in the Winter of 1967-68, about six months after the major disturbance in the summer of 1967. The questionnaire included a wide range of items including those aimed at assessing riot participation. Respondents were classified as riot participants if they admitted to being active on a general question or said that they had engaged in one of a series of specific riot-related actions that they were asked about later in the interview. Paige has a thorough discussion of the validity problems involved in using this kind of self report. In spite of what one might expect in the way of reluctance to admit participation, 46% of the Newark respondents ameraged as riot participants by this criterion.

To test the hypotheses about the interaction of trust and efficacy, one needs independent measures of these two variables. It is no simple task to measure efficacy uncontaminated by trust. As Paige puts it, "No matter how interested or active an individual is, he is unlikely to say that he can influence political affairs if her regards the government as essentially unresponsive" (1968, p. 125). Paige's strategy was to use a measure that is uncontaminated by trust but quite highly related to efficacy - namely, a measure of political information. Information may be regarded as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for influence. Not all of those who are informed will feel that they can influence the outcomes of the political system but it is hard to see how those who lack knowledge will feel that they can select the appropriate targets and tactics for influence.

Political information was measured by asking respondents to identify the race of nine Negro and white political figures. Those who identified six or fewer names were placed in the low information group; those who identified seven or more, in the high information group. If this measure is accepted as an admittedly rough approximation of efficacy, we may be able to shed some light on the hypotheses.

Political trust was measured directly by asking respondents, "How much do you think you can trust the government in Newark to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, some of the time, or almost never?" It turns out that in Newark, Paige reports, only 2% felt that they could trust the government "just about always" and another 10% felt that the government can be trusted "most of the time." These two groups are combined in the analysis. In contrast, 38% felt that they could almost never trust the government.

Now it was important to obtain reasonably independent measures of efficacy and trust and apparently Paige was quite successful in doing this in Newark. Ordinarily, one would expect the better informed or more efficacious to have higher trust; this relationship is implicit in arguments that link lack of social integration with extremist political views. But in Newark, the correlation between political information and political trust was actually slightly negative (-.19)! As Paige (1968, 1. 127) remarks wryly, "It seems that the more that is known about the government, the less it is trusted."

Trust, Efficacy, and Riot Participation

It may be that riot behavior has little or no political component - that it is merely an expression of unfocused personal frustration or of personal acquisitiveness. If this is so, then we should find no relationship with political trust (except for spurious relationships produced by some third variable related to both rioting and trust). Thus, in examining the variables we are interested in here, we are implicitly testing an interpretation of riot participation as a form of political activity.

From previous studies, we should expect to find that information or efficacy increases monotonically with political activity - including both the conventional sort and more dramatic forms such as riot participation. However, I have argued here that trust interacts with efficacy to produce important differences among high efficacy respondents. Specifically, the combination of high efficacy with low trust should produce a high percentage of riot participants but the same degree of efficacy with high trust should not.

Paige tested this hypothesis and found the results indicated in Figure 1 below. This figure, he concludes, "demonstrates a striking confirmation of the predicted interaction between information and trust. The high-information, low-trust cell is clearly the highest on riot participation. In fact, there is a 38 percentage-point spread between the low and high information cells in the low-trust condition. . . Those low on information and low on trust are actually the lowest cell on riot participation." In sum, there is no independent linear relationship between political trust and riot participation - the alienated are no more likely to have participated in riots than are the confident. But when this variable is combined with efficacy, trust is extremely important in explaining the behavior of those who are high in efficacy.

Paige also asked his respondents about participation in more conventional political acts such as voting and civil rights activity. With a little stretching, it is possible to interpret these different types of activities as reflecting different means of influence and, thus, to explore the earlier hypotheses relating trust to choice of a means of influence. Paige suggests that since civil rights groups use the threat of demonstrations or legal action to influence white authorities, their activity may be viewed as a form of mild constraint. Thus, the political activities reported upon run from voting (a form of inducement) to civil rights activity (a mild constraint) to rioting (a severe constraint). Since the mean level of participation differs for each activity, we should not necessarily expect that different kinds will be absolutely higher at different trust levels. Instead, Paige argues, the hypothesis suggests that the relative occurrence of each type of activity will reach a maximum at a different trust level. Specifically, "voting should be highest among those who feel the government can be trusted most of the time, rioting among those who feel it can almost never be trusted, and civil rights activity should peak among those intermediate on trust. These predictions hold only for the high-information subjects, since those low on information would be unlikely to show any consistent pattern in their reactions to government activities with which they are only peripherally concerned" (Paige, 1968, p. 130-31).

The data to test these predictions is presented in Figure 2. This figure includes only those who are high in efficacy or information and once again the predictions are nicely confirmed. Voting falls sharply and linearly as trust decreases; rioting, on the other hand, is lowest among those high in trust and increases linearly as trust decreases. Civil rights activity is in between the others - rising as trust declines from high to medium but falling again sharply as trust declines from medium to low. Paige concludes that "In general, there is evidence that rioting can profitably be considered a form of revolutionary political protest engaged in by those who have become highly distrustful of existing political institutions" (1968, p. 134).

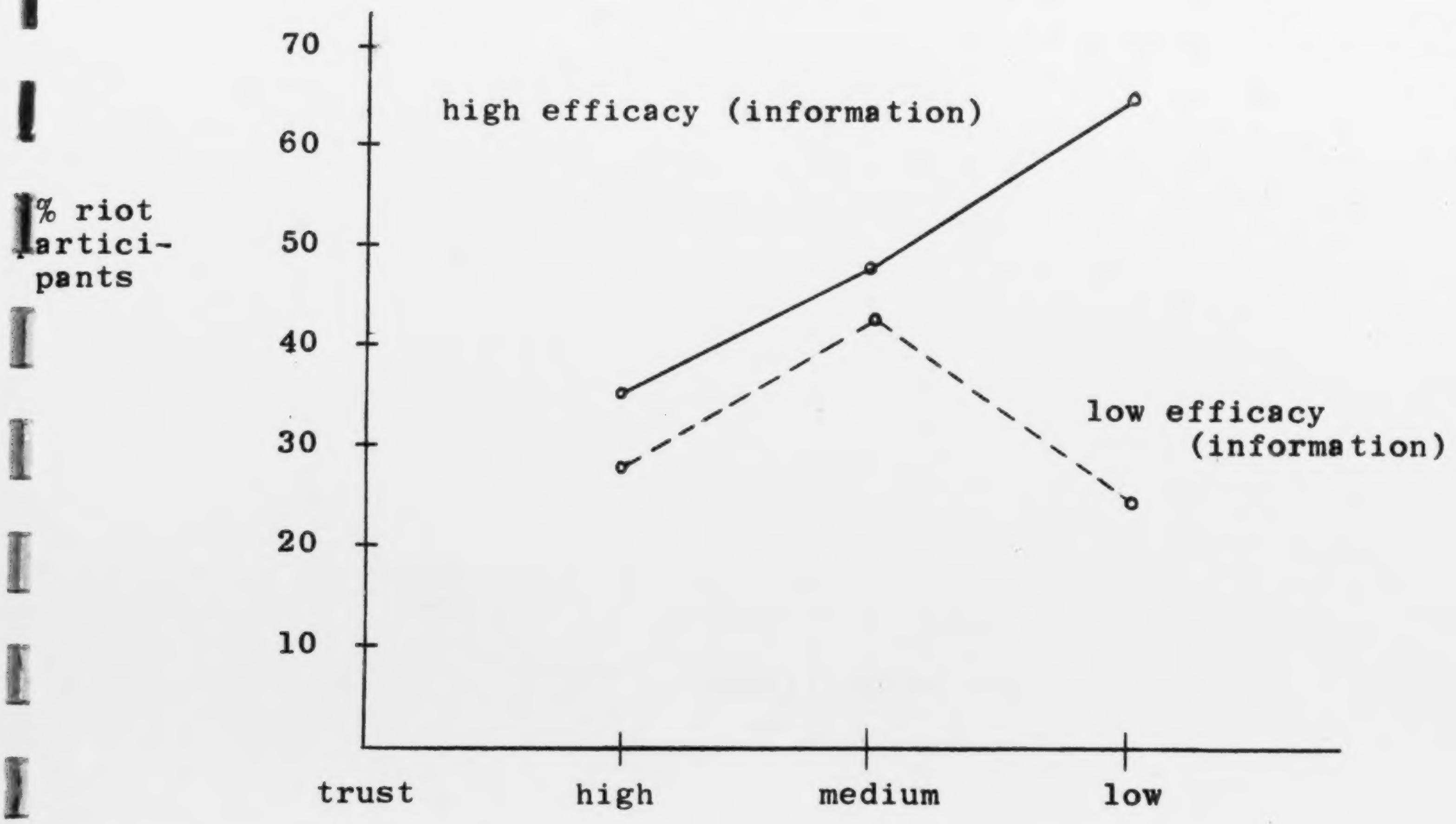
Conclusion

By now, I hope, you are convinced of the efficacy of the concept of trust and have learned to trust the concept of efficacy. Let me now return to some final implications of the points argued above, implications for the present state in which we find our political system. Of all the attitude combinations a citizenry may have, the combination of high efficacy and low trust is the least stable.

Paige suggests a fourfold typology between efficacy and trust linking the orientation of citizens with different types of political systems. A high trust-

Figure 1[a]

Riot Participation, Trust, and Efficacy in Newark



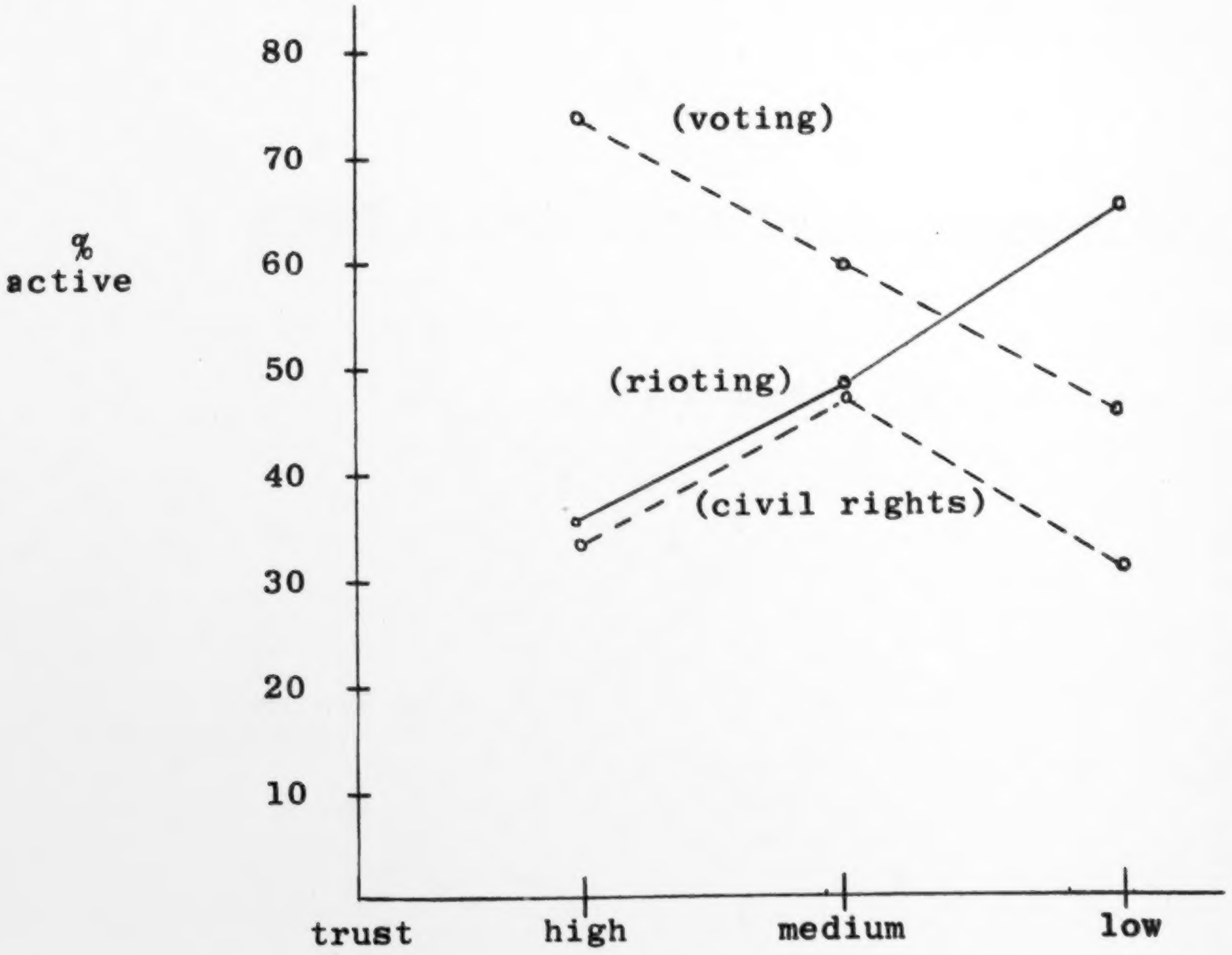
[a] Adapted from Paige (1968, p. 128).

low efficacy orientation he calls allegiant and suggests that it is characteristic of democratic political systems. A high trust-low efficacy system describes a subordinate orientation and is characteristic of traditional or paternalistic political systems. A low trust-low efficacy orientation describes an alienated population and is characteristic of totalitarian political systems which may be quite stable with the use of coercion. The high efficacy-low trust orientation he calls dissident and suggests that it describes an unstable political system with a high potential for radical action or revolution.

The degree of instability depends, of course, on the size of the group with this dissident orientation. The instability can be resolved in one of two ways - through responsiveness or repression. If repression is successful, trust will be

Figure 2[a]

Voting, Civil Rights Activity, and Rioting by Trust for High Efficacy Respondents in Newark



[a] Adapted from Paige (1968, p. 131).

unaffected but efficacy will be reduced so that it falls into line with low trust. This involves a movement toward a police state and the acceptance of an alienated but cowed population. The other alternative, responsiveness, attempts to remove the instability by raising trust rather than lowering efficacy. Presumably this is what is meant by such phrases as ruling with the "consent of the governed."

One might be tempted to conclude from the foregoing discussion that a political system can't have too much trust for its own good, However, if every group in a political system were completely confident, there would be something amiss. Since groups have different preferred outcomes on many issues, some would have to be either ignorant or deluded. In a relatively open system, such overconfidence in the government may be a potential source of instability in its own right. With such a fragile foundation for trust, there is always a danger of a sudden collapse of credit. Such a collapse may come at a time when the government has heavy commitments and can ill afford it. The more accurate the perceptions of the political process by different groups, the greater is the likelihood that highly confident groups will have alienated counterparts. On issues which involve conflict of interest, there is a more stable foundation if different groups perceive the system as neutral - that is, as unbiased.

This stricture is not true with respect to the efficiency of the political system. The existence of high confidence for one part of the population need not inply less confidence for any other part. Here, the rule of "the more trust, the better" applies. This suggests that one might get some reading on the success of a political system by looking at both the mean level or trust among different groups in the society and the variance in trust between groups. Thus, the political system in a society in which average trust is relatively high but variance in trust between different groups is also substantial is doing well in the achievement of collective goals but has problems of equity in distribution. One in which average trust is relatively low but more or less equal between groups is like the man in the New Yorker cartoon who announces that he hates everyone regardless of race, creed, or nationa origin: in such a system, every group gets its fair share of misery. Finally, the ideal political system should have a comfortable high level of overall trust and a low variance in trust between groups. Such a system would have achieved efficiency without sacrificing equity.

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1. The discussion in the first part of this paper draws heavily on Gamson (1968), especially Ch. 3.
2. The part of this study referred to here is reported most fully in Paige (1968). Accounts of other part of this research have appeared in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) and in Caplan and Paige (1968).
3. See Gamson (1968), especially Ch. 8.

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